Historical Oriya Morphology



HARIPRIYA MISRA

Historical Oriya Morphology by Dr. (Mrs.) Haripriya Misra fills up a big gap, being the first major study in the subject. The scholars & students of Linguistics in general and Oriya Language in particular will be immensely benefitted by the book, which contains in it enough of materials needed for deep study in the subject. It presents a complete history of the Oriya language—beginning from Carya it traverses a long way in the developmental process to reach the modern-most Oriya language. The chapters captioned as 'The formative affixes', 'The nominal declension', 'The pronominal declension', 'Numerals', 'Verbs' etc. themselves speak about the subject matters dealt with and elaborated there-in.

Besides, the Introduction presents a concise picture of the Oriya phonology, script, dialects etc. Lastly the exhaustive 'Word-Index' is also of immense help to scholars.

The author, well-known for her other contributions to Oriya Linguistics, is at present working with Dr. Satya Swarup Misra in the massive plan of Indo-European Comparative Grammar.

HISTORICAL ORIYA MORPHOLOGY



HARIPRIYA MISRA

Historical Oriya Morphology

Dr. (Mrs.) Haripriya Misra
M. A., Ph. D.



BHARATA MANISHA
VARANASI (India)

Bharata Manisha Research Series : 4
First Edition 1975

Published by
J. D. Bhattacharya
BHARATA MANISHA
D. 28/171, Pande Haveli, Varanasi.

Library Edition Rs. 40/-
~~Student Edition Rs. 30/~~

Printed in India by
Mahesh Kumar at Manisha Mudranalaya
Pande Haveli, Varanasi.

DEDICATED

WITH DEVOTION

To

Srī Bāsudeba Paṭṭanāyaka

gurur gurūṇām

PREFACE

The main purpose of the present study is to present a historical picture of Oriya Morphology. The Oriya language is one of the important languages of Modern India spoken by a considerably large number of people. Its linguistic importance has been recognised by great scholars like Beams, Grierson, Chatterji aad others. But unfortunately no proper linguistic study of this language has yet been made, apart from the mere inclusion of the language in Grierson, some elementary treatment in Beams and some sporadic treatment in Chatterji. Oriya is rich with inscriptions. The Mādaḷā Pāñji is also a precious wealth for linguistic study. Besides, the Mahābhārata of Śāraḷā Dāsa is unique in Oriya literature since it presents quite voluminously the Old Oriya forms. Thus there is enough material for a proper linguistic study of the Oriya language. In the present work an attempt has been made to utilise the old material quite exhaustively. The Oriya language which is quite conservative in nature has not changed much even in one thousand years. At many places therefore, when the modern form is as good as the old form the reference to old texts is avoided to obviate bulkiness in volume.

The present work which is chiefly meant for historical treatment of the Oriya language also contains some additional contribution to New Indo-Aryan

Comparative Grammar. Besides following the path made by the fore-runners, I have often reconsidered several items whenever I felt it necessary. I have traced the history of several unexplained formative elements, nominal and verbal endings as well as post-positions. The history of the cardinal numerals has been presented quite elaborately. There are certain new contributions in the history of pronouns. The classification of the tense is also with a new approach.

In orthography the so called antaḥstha *j* of Oriya which is read as *j* but written with a script resembling *y* has been transcribed *ẏ* regularly in the present work unless it is written *j* in the texts. Initial *y* is pronounced as *j* in Oriya even in tatsama forms. Therefore, the transcription with *ẏ* is preferred in the present work. On the other hand transcription of the same with *y* or *j* which is the normal practice is liable to create orthographic confusion.

It should be noted that reference in bold figures refers to sections. Reference to a page is always indicated by p. In case of Carya references in figure indicate Carya No.

I pay my homage to Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, National Professor of India, Chairman of International Phonetic Association. His monumental work 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language' which is actually an encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan linguistics was a real guide for my work. Although occasionally I have differed from the said work,

I must submit that I was able to differ simply because of my comprehensive study of the said great work.

I must express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Sukumar Sen, the renowned scholar in the field, who has always helped me with his valuable suggestions whenever I have approached him with some problems on Oriya Historical Morphology. I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Pranabesh Sinha Ray, Head of the Department of Comparative Philology and Linguistics, Calcutta University for his valuable foreword. I am also grateful to my teachers Dr. D. N. Basu, Dr. C. Dutta and and Dr. D. Srivastav for their encouragements.

I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Boulton of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London and Prof. Dr. K. B. Tripathi, the renowned scholar of Oriya inscription for their constructive and valuable criticism of the manuscript.

I express my gratefulness to Dr. Satya Swarup Misra who inspired me for the study of Comparative Philology to assist him in his massive plan of Indo-European Comparative Grammar. Since some substantial contribution to Oriya linguistics was lacking at his instance I took up the present work for my doctoral thesis of the Calcutta University.

I must express my gratitude to Prof. P. K. Misra of Orissa who helped me with a valuable and out-of-print book. My thanks are also due to the Librarians of the Central Library of Calcutta University, the

ment from the oldest stage up to the modern stage, in nominal declension, Pronominal declension, Numerals and Verbal conjugations etc. In several cases she has offered convincing new etymologies. On the whole the treatise is a highly remarkable piece of fruitful production. The Word Index certainly adds to the value of this work. I hope this book will be of great use to scholars of Indo-Aryan linguistics in India and abroad.

Calcutta
August 21, 1975
Śrāvaṇī pṛṇimā

Pranabesh Sinha Ray

CONTENTS

Chapter I

Chapter II

Chapter III

Chapter IV

THE PRONOMINAL DECLENSION 84–105

Chapter V

Chapter VI

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. The Oriya Language

The Oriya language (also called as *Oṛiyā*, *Oṛiā* as well as sometimes misnamed as *Uṛiyā*, *Uṛiā*, etc.) is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in the province of Orissa and to some extent in the bordering areas of the neighbouring states like Bengal, Bihar, Madhyapradesh and Andhra. Just like other New Indo-Aryan languages it belongs to the Indo-European language family. In IE also it comes under the Satəm branch; and in Satəm also this comes under the Indo-Iranian branch; and in Indo-Iranian this comes under the Indo-Aryan branch.

The Indo-Aryan branch of IE shows three stages of development which are termed on chronological basis as Old Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan. OIA, which is in a way the most important of the IE language family, consists of the Vedic documents in its earlier stage and the long flowing stream of Classical Sanskrit in its later phase. In the next stage comes Middle Indo-Aryan (Circa 500 BC to 1000 AD) rich with several dialects which is also further subdivided, on the basis of linguistic history, under three phases. Under the first phase of MIA come the language of Aśokan inscriptions

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. The Oriya Language

The Oriya language (also called as *Oṛiyā*, *Oṛiā* as well as sometimes misnamed as *Uṛiyā*, *Uṛiā*, etc.) is an Indo-Aryan language spoken mainly in the province of Orissa and to some extent in the bordering areas of the neighbouring states like Bengal, Bihar, Madhyapradesh and Andhra. Just like other New Indo-Aryan languages it belongs to the Indo-European language family. In IE also it comes under the Satəm branch ; and in Satəm also this comes under the Indo-Iranian branch ; and in Indo-Iranian this comes under the Indo-Aryan branch.

The Indo-Aryan branch of IE shows three stages of development which are termed on chronological basis as Old Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan. OIA, which is in a way the most important of the IE language family, consists of the Vedic documents in its earlier stage and the long flowing stream of Classical Sanskrit in its later phase. In the next stage comes Middle Indo-Aryan (Circa 500 BC to 1000 AD) rich with several dialects which is also further subdivided, on the basis of linguistic history, under three phases. Under the first phase of MIA come the language of Aśokan inscriptions

and Pāli. Under the second phase come several Prakrits viz Niya (which is often considered as a transitional MIA from the first phase to the second phase), Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī, Sauraseni, Mahārāṣṭrī, and Paiśācī, etc. Some of these probably had some dialectal variation as well. In the third phase of MIA comes Apabhraṃśa which also had dialectal variations. The last stage of Apabhraṃśa is called as Avahaṭṭha which may also be termed as transitional from MIA to NIA.

The New Indo-Aryan stage which starts roughly from 1000 AD is rich with several languages. These languages are classified under Outer, Inner and Intermidiate groups in accordance with the history of the Aryan emigration to India in successive waves. Accordingly the Outer group includes Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuriya, Kaśmiri, Sindhi, Lahnda, Marathi as well as Singhalese and Gipsy. The Inner group includes Western Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujrati, Pahari, Nepali and Panjabi. The Intermediate group includes Eastern Hindi. Phonetically and geographically the NIA languages are also classified as Eastern, Western, Northern, Southern and Midlandic. The Eastern includes Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuriya as well as Eastern Hindi. The Western includes Rajasthani and Gujrati. The Northern includes Kaśmiri, Panjabi, Sindhi, Lahnda, Nepali, Pahari as well as Gipsy. The Southern includes Marathi. The Midlandic includes Western Hindi as well as Singhalese (for details of classification vide the table in ODBL Vol. I,

facing p. 6, or the table in Taraporewala : 'Elements of the Science of Language' facing p. 242).

Thus Oriya is a New Indo-Aryan language belonging to the Outer group of Indo-Aryan on the basis of the theory of Aryan emigration in successive waves and a language of the Eastern group on the basis of geographical distribution and linguistic history. To retrovert to the detailed history from the MIA stage Oriya owes its origin to the Māgadhī Prakrit of the second stage of MIA which is in turn probably historically linked with the Eastern Aśokan Inscriptions viz the Dhauli and Jaugaḍ inscriptions found in Orissa. The next stage to Māgadhī Prakrit is naturally the Māgadhan Apabhraṃśa, which is the immediate ancestor of the Māgadhan NIA languages namely Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuriya. For a more subtle classification, the Māgadhan languages are classified into Western and Eastern. Western Māgadhan includes Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuriya. And the rest (i.e. Oriya, Bengali, Assamese) come under the Eastern Māgadhan. The Eastern Māgadhan may be further classified under two heads viz North-Eastern Māgadhan which includes Bengali and Assamese and South-Eastern Māgadhan which includes Oriya. Thus Oriya, to use the full terms of connotation of classification, is a South-Eastern Māgadhan New Indo-Aryan language of the Indo-European language family. As is obvious from the classification, Oriya shows closer affinity to Bengali and Assamese than the Western Māgadhan languages and similarly also it is more akin to the Māgadhan

languages in comparison with the other NIA languages. The Other NIA languages are referred to in the following pages in accordance with their relative affinity with the Oriya language.

2. Linguistic material in Oriya

The Oriya language is highly rich with linguistic materials although they are not well-exploited as yet. History of Oriya as a NIA speech starts with Caryā which is the earliest document for Oriya just like its sister languages Bengali, Assamese, etc. The next phase includes the language of the Oriya Inscriptions. Quite a large number of Oriya Inscriptions present enough linguistic material. Most of these inscriptions which are purely Oriya inscriptions date from 1076-1540 AD. Besides a number of Sanskrit inscriptions, the oldest of which belongs to 991 AD, contain some Oriya words (for details vide Tripathi : 'The evolution of Oriya language and script', Chapter I, p.2). Mādaḷāpāñji, which is a highly valuable old document was written quite regularly after the time of Coṛagaṅgadeba who ruled up to Śakābda 1074 (= 1152 AD). Therefore the earliest portions of Mādaḷāpāñji may belong to 11th or 12th century AD (vide Mādaḷāpāñji's Mukhabandha, p. 3 edited by Ārtaballabha Mahāntī). The Mahābhārata written by Sāraḷā Dāsa of 15th century AD is of considerable importance to a linguist since it presents the colloquial living language of the time in a large quantity. Other important works of this period are Keśaba Koili

by Mārkaṇḍa Dāsa, Kaḷasācautiśā by Bacchādāsa, Rudrasudhānidhi by Abadhūtanārāyaṇa Swāmī and Rāmabibhā by Arjuna Dāsa. The next phase of the language is represented by the Rāmāyaṇa of Baḷarāma Dāsa, Bhāgabata by Jagannātha Dāsa and Haribaṃśa and the Māḷikās by Acūytānanda Dāsa. Slightly later comes Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa, Biṣṇukeśarī purāṇa, Padma purāṇa, Kārtika māhātmya, Baiśākha māhātmya, Māgha māhātmya, Āṣāḍha māhātmya etc. by Mahādeba Dāsa and Nṛsiṃha purāṇa by Pitāmbara Dāsa and Bāmana purāṇa and Kaḷki purāṇa by Kṛṣṇa-Caraṇa Paṭṭanāyaka. In the next phase mention may be made of Upendra Bhañja who wrote about fifty Kāvyas including Baidehiśa Biḷāsa, Koṭibrahmāṇḍa sundarī, Lābaṇyabatī, etc. To this period also belong Rasakalloḷa by Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa, Bidagdha cintāmaṇi by Abhimanyu Sāmantasiṃhāra, Manabodha Cautiśā and Mathurāmaṅgaḷa by Bhakta Caraṇa Dāsa; Prabandha Pūrṇacandra and Yadumaṇi Rahasya by Yadumaṇi Mahāpātra, Kiśoracandrānana campū by Kabisūrḍya Baḷadeba Ratha, several songs by Gopāḷakṛṣṇa and Banamāḷī, Bhajans by Bhimabhoi. The next important mention may be made of Brajanātha Baṛajenā who wrote several Kāvyas including Samarataraṅga and a prose fiction Catura binoda. The Modern period starts with the great trio of Oriya literature namely Rādhānātha famous for several kāvyas, Phakiramohana famous for several novels and Madhusūdana famous for poems.

Thus on the basis of chronology and linguistic development, the Oriya documents may be classified

under four heads viz Proto-Oriya, Old Oriya, Middle Oriya and Modern Oriya. Proto-Oriya includes the language of Caryā. The Old Oriya documents include inscriptións and Mādaḷāpāñji. Middle Oriya includes the literary documents beginning from Sāraḷādāsa up to Brajanātha with several substages as indicated above. As stated above documents of Modern period starts from Rādhānātha etc.

3. Oriya Vocabulary

The Oriya vocabulary comprises indigenous and foreign elements. The indigenous elements may be classified under three heads : (a) Tadbhava which actually forms the great bulk of Oriya vocables e.g. *Kānhu* <*kṛṣṇa-*, *naī* <*nadī*, *pokharī* <*puṣkarikā* *maṇiṣa* <*manuṣya-* etc. (b) tatsama which is more frequent in the literary form of the language e.g. *darśana*, *karma*, *barma*, *dharma*, *jāta*, *padma* etc. (c) Semitatsama words which are quite frequent in both literary and colloquial forms of the language e.g. *daraśana*, *karama*, *dharama* etc. The foreign elements come from various sources. Those foreign elements which were borrowed in OIA and MIA stage (e.g. Oriya *gharā* <OIA *ghaṭa*—< Tamil *kuṭṭam* etc.) may practically be classified under Tadbhava. Other foreign elements contain mainly loan words from Portuguese e.g. *kirāṇi* (<*cerane*), *kobi* (< *cauve*), *cābi* (<*chave*), *bālti* (< *balde*), *bāsana* (<*bacia*) etc. Loan words from English are also quite many, e.g. *lāṭ* (<*lord*), *aphisi* (<*office*),

gilāsa (<*glass*), *bāksa* (< *box*) etc. with modification and *ṭikeṭ* (< *ticket*), *koṭ* (< *coat*), *depuṭi* (< *deputy*), *sinemā* (< *cinema*) etc. without modification as they are late loans. Loan words from Persian (which includes Arabic and Turkish loan words in Persian as well) are also quite many although they are less in number in Oriya than its sister languages like Bengali and Hindi, e.g. *kam*, *kharaca*, *beśī*, *nagada*, *kamāṇa* (cp Upendra Bhañj : Baidehīśa Biḷāsa '*mārgaṇa-kamāṇa-dhara*'), *jāhāja*, *khub*, *jor*, *bastā* etc. Besides *atara*, *āin* etc. are from Arabic through Persian and *kuli*, *kaiṁci*, *bibi* etc. are from Turkish through Persian. There are some Dravidian and Austric loan words which are common to most NIA languages and may come under Tadbhava if they are borrowed even in MIA stage e.g. *ḍāba*, *ḍaṅgā*, *ḍhola*, *ḍhāla* etc. There are many words with obscure origin which are termed as Deśī.

4. The Oriya script

The Oriya script is a descendant of the Brāhmī script like most other Indian scripts. This has taken quite a round shape and appears quite peculiar to the speakers of other NIA languages. The apparent round shape of Oriya letters is because of the curves on the top of the letters instead of the vertical strokes in other Indian scripts like Devanāgarī or Bengali e.g. Oriya କ '*k*' = Devanāgarī क, Bengali ক or Oriya ଲ '*l*' = Devanāgarī and Bengali ল etc. The curve at

the top probably owes its origin to the fact that the Oriya language was written on palm leaves with a stylus. The stylus would tear the palm leaf if a vertical line be drawn on it by a stylus. This might have been the initial cause for substitution of the vertical strokes by curves.

5 Oriya dialects

Since a detailed dialectal survey of Orissa is yet to be made it may be roughly stated that there are about three or four dialects of the Oriya language viz the standard dialect (including Balasore dialect, if it is not an independent dialect), Ganjami dialect and Sambalpuri dialect. The standard dialect is spoken around the Khordha region in between Cuttack and Puri. The dialects of Cuttack and Puri also slightly differ from the standard. Dialect of Balasore differs still more from the standard than the dialects of Cuttack and Puri and is almost in the verge of being stamped as an independent dialect. But perhaps it will be more accurate to consider the dialects of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore as subdialects of the standard one as these are mutually understandable. But Ganjami, the dialect of the Ganjam district and Sambalpuri the dialect of Sambalpur and Balangir etc. are distinct dialects. These dialects are characterised by several peculiarities. For instance Sambalpuri is peculiar phonologically with the absence of ḷ and Ganjami with the greater frequency of the same sound.

6. The Chief Linguistic Features

The following phonetic peculiarities of the Oriya language may be noted. As a rule the medial and final vowels are retained in Oriya which is not the case with other NIA languages e.g. OIA *samatala* > Hindi *sam*ᵃ*tal*ᵃ, Bengali *samatal*ᵃ but Oriya *samataḷa*, similarly OIA *jagadīśa* > Hindi *jag*ᵃ*dīś*ᵃ, Bengali *jagadīś*ᵃ but Oriya *jagadīśa*, Proto NIA **rāti* > Hindi and Bengali *rāt* but Oriya *rāti* etc. Oriya '*a*' is pronounced with lip-rounding, almost like Bengali '*a*' and English '*o*' in *pot*. Thus the phonetic symbol for Oriya '*a*' is *[ɔ]*. Oriya '*ā*' is not a long vowel but is an open vowel as in English '*a*' in *father*. Thus the phonetic symbol for Oriya '*ā*' is *[a]*. Oriya *i* and *ī* are orthographically patterned after Sanskrit but they are not distinguished as short and long in pronunciation. Similar is the case with '*u*' and '*ū*'. The vowel '*r̥*' is read as '*ru*' in Oriya. The *r̥̄* which is not found in any genuine Oriya word is also pronounced as *ru* or *rū*, while reading Sanskrit texts. Similarly the vowel '*l̥*' is found only in Sanskrit texts and read as '*lu*'. The vowels *e*, *o*, *ai*, *au* are pronounced as *[e, o, ɔi, ɔu]*.

Of the consonants special mention may be made of the treatment of *l* (*ḷ*) and *n* (*ṇ*). As a rule *ḷ* and *ṇ* do not occur initially in Oriya. An original (i.e. OIA/MIA) *l* becomes *ḷ* intervocally in Oriya (e.g. OIA/MIA *jala-* > Oriya *jaḷa*, OIA/MIA *tala-* > Oriya *taḷa* and OIA/MIA *phala-* > Oriya *phaḷa*), and MIA intervocal *-ll-* (< OIA

ly/*lv*/*ll* etc.) > *l* in Oriya, e.g. OIA *tulya* > MIA *tulla* > Oriya *tuḷa*, OIA/MIA *malla*- > Oriya *māḷa*, OIA *taila*- > MIA *tella*- and Oriya *teḷa*- etc. An OIA intervocal *n*/*ṇ* becomes *ṇ* in Oriya, e.g. OIA *vana* > Oriya *baṇa*, OIA *pānīya* > Oriya *pāṇi*, OIA *gaṇa* > Oriya *gaṇa* OIA *lavaṇa* > Oriya *luṇa* etc. MIA intervocal -*nn*- (< OIA -*nn*- or other -*n*/*ṇ* conjuncts like -*ny*-, -*nv*-, -*ṇy*-, -*ṇv*- etc.) became -*n*- in Oriya, e.g. OIA *anya* > Oriya *āna*, OIA *śūnya* > Oriya *śūna*, OIA *karṇa* > Oriya *kāna* etc. One chief difference between the treatment of Oriya *l*/*ḷ* and *n*/*ṇ* is that even in tatsama words intervocal *l* becomes *ḷ* in Oriya as cited above, but intervocal *n* is retained as *n* in case of tatsama words and becomes *ṇ* only in tadbhava words, e.g. OIA *vana* > tatsama *bana* besides tadbhava *baṇa*. Even in loan words sometimes intervocal *l* has become *ḷ*, e.g. *badaḷa* < Perso-Arabic *badl* and Oriya *reḷa* < English *rail* etc.

Treatment of *y* and *v* deserves special mention in Oriya. Initial '*y*' almost regularly becomes '*j*' in Oriya. This '*j*' later on is replaced by a symbol called antaḥstha *j* (=*ẏ*) ଯ to contrast it from '*y*' ୟ. But this is due to the influence of Sanskrit. In Inscription and Caryā there is no symbol for antaḥstha *j* (=*ẏ*) ଯ. Even in Mādaḷāpāñji and Sāraḷā Dāsa's Mahābhārata '*j*' is often found for initial '*y*' (=*ẏ*). This shows that in late Oriya '*ẏ*' was reintroduced for '*j*' due to influence of Sanskrit orthography and the original pronunciation of *j* remained inspite of its special shape. Even while reading Sanskrit, initial

'*y*' is read as '*j*' by the Oriya speakers and Sanskrit texts printed in Oriya script regularly use the special symbol *ẏ* for initial *y*. In the present work initial '*y*' which is pronounced '*j*' and written with a special script in Oriya is printed with *ẏ* to distinguish it from *y* and *j*. OIA *v* regularly became *b* in Oriya. (Even a few Sanskrit inscriptions of 7th century AD discovered in the district of Ganjam regularly show *b* in place of *v*). But *v* is retained only in conjucts. The intervocal *-m-* is lost in Oriya nasalising the neighbouring vowels e.g. OIA *nāma*> Oriya *nāṁ*, OIA *vāma* > Oriya *bāṁ*, OIA *grāma*> Oriya *gāṁ* and OIA *khādāmi* >. Early Oriya *khāaiṁ*, Modern Oriya *khāeṁ/khāe* etc. Out of the sibilants only the dental *-s* is retained in Oriya in pronunciation although *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* are written on the pattern of Sanskrit orthography. Out of the conjuncts *kṣ* and *jñ* deserve special mention. Oriya *jñ* although written *jñ* is read as *gy*(*aṁ*) (and also written as *gy*(*aṁ*) in Inscription, Mādaḷāpāñji and Sāraḷā Mahābhārata, etc.). *kṣ* is regularly read as *khy*(*a*), e.g. OIA *lakṣa* is read in Oriya as *lakhya*. But when followed by another consonant *kṣ* is read as *kh* e.g. *lakṣmī* is read as *lakhmi* and *lakṣya* is also read as *lakhya*. In Early and Early Middle Oriya however '*kṣ*' seems to have been pronounced as '*ch*' which resulted in the interchangability of *kṣ* and *ch* in some texts (e.g. *kṣanda* is often written for *chanda*). The conjunct *hy* is pronounced as *jhy* (e.g. *sahya* is read as *sajhya*; the texts sometimes show further extended forms e.g. SD *dahijya* which is a contamination of the pronunciation of *dahya* + *dajhya*) besides the scholarly pronunciation

'*hy*'. The conjuncts *hm*, *hn* and *hl* are regularly read in Oriya as *mh*, *nh* and *lh* even in scholarly pronunciation of tatsama words (e.g. *brāhmaṇa* *jahna* and *āhlāda* are read as *brāmhaṇa*, *janha* and *ālhāda* respectively). OIA *ṇ* is read as *n* in the following conjuncts in Oriya even in tatsama words e.g. *ṇy*, *ṇv* and *rṇ* are read as *ny*, *nv* and *rn* respectively, (e.g. *pūṇya*, *kaṇva* and *karṇa* are read as *pūnya*, *kanva* and *karna* respectively). Other conjuncts are retained in pronunciation in tatsama words.

The following are some of the salient morphological features of the Oriya language. Gender distinction is almost lost in Oriya except some artificial Sanskritisms. The plural number is expressed generally by nouns of multitude (like *māna*, *gaṇa*, *guṛika*, *sakaḷa*, *sabu*, *samasta* etc.) and sometimes also by the original plural ending *-e* <OIA *-ebhiḥ* (e.g. *debe* <OIA *devebhiḥ*). The post-positions play an eminent role in expressing the case-relations like most other NIA languages. The following numerals show, special formations, e.g. *ṣohaḷa* 'sixteen' (by metathesis < **ṣoḷaha* cp OIA *ṣoḍaśa*), *koṛie* (with Austric *kuṛi*+ *-e* < OIA *eka-*), *ṣāṭhie* (= *ṣāṭhi*+ *-e*), *śahe* (= *sa*+*h* glidic+*e*) and *hajāre* (= Persian *hazār*+*e*) etc.

Oriya verbal system is characterised by the following striking features. It maintains the distinction of person and number in verbal terminations. The simple and compound verbs are also distinguished in Oriya. The verbal system presents four tenses (viz present, past, future and con-

ditional) each of which may further be classified as indefinite (or simple), imperfect, perfect, imperfect continuous and perfect continuous. Four types of moods can be distinguished in Oriya out of which indicative and imperative are historical inheritances and subjunctive as well as optative are innovations. Oriya retains here and there some stray instances of the historical radical passive besides the new passive formations. As far as the participles are concerned Oriya shows three types of participial formations (viz present, past and future participles) which are also used as verbal nouns. Use of periphrastic participles is one of the striking features of Oriya. The infinitive is expressed in Oriya by the post-position *-ku-*

To put in most concise terms Oriya may be characterised as the most conservative NIA speech as it retains the phonological structure of proto NIA to a considerable extent. The borrowed element is comparatively less in Oriya than its closest sisters as Orissa remained independent for a considerable long time. In the words of Hunter (vide 'Orissa' p. 5) "Orissa asserted independence and remained the strong hold of national faith for a pretty long time."

FORMATIVE AFFIXES

Formative affixes in Oriya may be classified as Tadbhava, Tatsama and foreign affixes on the basis of their history and origin. Most of the Oriya formatives are included under tadbhava affixes. Tatsama affixes are very few which are actually living in the language. Foreign formatives also are very rare and much less common in use in comparison with its sister languages like Bengali and Assamese. The formatives of Oriya are enumerated below with their history along with some suitable illustrations.

A. Tadbhava Suffixes

(1) *-a* : This affix is found with masculine, feminine and neuter nouns and is derived from OIA primary affixes *-aḥ*, *-ā*, *-am* and *-as*.

-a < OIA *-aḥ* e.g. *diara* (< *devaraḥ*) 'husband's younger brother', *burucha* (< *bṛkṣaḥ*) 'tree', *bāgha* (< *byāghraḥ*) 'tiger', and similarly *gacha* 'tree', *bhala* (< *bhadraḥ* > *bhadla* > *bhalla* > *bhala*) 'good', *murukha* < *mūrkhaḥ* 'ignorant', *dharama* < *dharmaḥ* 'religion', *śiāḷa* < *sṛgālaḥ* jackal', *śaara* < *śabaraḥ* 'an aboriginal tribe', *garasta* < *gṛhasthaḥ* 'husband', *baḷada* 'bullock', *keuṭa* 'fisherman' etc.

-a < OIA *-ā* e.g. *māḷa* (< *mālā*) 'garland', *jibha* (< *jihvā*) 'tongue', *lāja* (< *lajjā*) 'shame', *nida* (< *nidrā*) 'sleep', *sañja* (< *sandhyā*) 'evening' etc.

-a < OIA *-ā* (Nom sg of OIA *-ṛ* stems) e.g. SD *bhrāṭa* (< *bhrātā*) 'brother', *māta* (< *mātā*) 'mother', *pita* (< *pitā*) 'father ; *duhita* (< *duhitā*) 'son, daughter', BD *jaganmāta* 'mother of the world'.

-a < OIA *-am* e.g. *ratana* (< *ratnam*) 'jewel', *ghia* (< *ghṛtam* > *ghidam* > *ghida* > *ghia*) 'ghee', *mita* (< *mitram*) friend', *ghara* (< *gṛham*) 'house', *thāna* (< *sthānam*) 'place' etc.

-a < *-as* e.g. *mana* (< *manas*) 'mind', *yaśa* (< *yaśas*) 'fame', *bakṣa* (< *bakṣas*) 'chest', *śira* (< *śiras*) 'head', *sara* (< *saras*) 'cream', *teja* (< *tejas*) 'heat' and similarly *raja* 'dust', *ura* 'chest', *paya* 'water', *nabha* 'sky' etc.

There is another affix *-a* forming verbal adjectives indicating the sense of 'about to do' something. This *-a* is derived < OIA *-an* (Nom sg of present participle) e.g. *hasa* < MIA *hasaṁ* < OIA *hasan*. The following reduplicated forms contain this affix. e. g. *hasa hasa* 'about to laugh', *kānda kānda* 'about to cry', *gara gara* 'about to be angry', *bhara bhara* 'about to be filled up' and *jara jara* 'feeling feverish' etc.

(2) *-anta*, *-antā* < OIA *-ant-* (the present participle suffix). This suffix is found in a few adjectives e.g. *jiantā* < OIA *jīvantakaḥ*) 'living' *caḷantā* (< *calantakaḥ*) 'moving', (but *caḷanti* 'current' < *calantikā*), *cālantā* (< *cālayantakaḥ*) 'moving', *jaḷantā* (< *jvalantakaḥ*) 'burning' (but *jaḷanti* 'burning' < **jvalantikā*), SD, BD *jiṇantā* (< **jinantakaḥ*) 'winning', similarly *ghumanta* (for *ghumantā*, the

shortening of final *-ā* to *-a* may be due to the influence of *-anta* or may be a mere shortening of the vowel) 'dozing', *jāṇanta* (*mo jāṇanta*) 'knowing, *pherantā* (*ḍāka*) 'returning (of post)' etc. But *Bilāt-pherat* 'returning from Bilāt' and *sabjāntā* 'omniscient' are loan words from Hindi.

(3) *-aṇa* < OIA primary suffix *-ana*. It forms abstract verbal nouns some of which indicate a concrete object e.g. *khāṇa* 'eating', *piaṇa* 'drinking' (in *khāṇa-piaṇa*), *gāṇa* 'singing' (but *gāyaṇa* with glidic *-y-*),*j* (*v*)*alaṇa* 'burning', *jhulaṇa* 'swinging', *dharaṇa* 'type', *gaṛhaṇa* 'construction', *māgaṇa* 'asking', *māraṇa* 'killing, *sahaṇa* 'toleration', *sumaraṇa* 'remembrance', *ghaṭaṇa* 'form, formation' (*ghaṭaṇa śrimukha sundara*), *maraṇa* 'death', *guṇana* 'multiplication', *śaraṇa* 'refuge', *tāraṇa* 'protection', *haraṇa* 'taking away', *bharaṇa* 'filling-up' *baraṇa* 'welcoming', (SD) *meṇṭaṇa* 'solution', etc. But *ḍāmphaṇa* 'large needle, *phuṭaṇa* 'spices for frying curry' and *jhāṛaṇa* 'small canopy' etc. indicate concrete objects.

-aṇā,*-aṇī* are merely the extensions of the form *-aṇa*.

-aṇā: The suffix *-aṇā* forms abstract verbal nouns and in some cases it signifies connected object. e.g. *kāndaṇā* 'weeping', *dekhaṇā* 'seeing' (in *dekhaṇāhāri*), *bājaṇā* 'beating of the drum etc'. *bindhaṇā* 'piercing' (in *bindhaṇā gāi*'), *karaṇā* 'doing' (in *ghara-karaṇā*), *phuṭaṇa* 'frying', *kheḷaṇā* 'toy', *gahaṇā* 'ornament', *jharaṇā* 'stream', *māgaṇā* 'free', *rāndhaṇā* 'cooking', *koraṇā* 'one type of kitchen instrument'.

-a of *aṇā* is found as *e*/*o* when it occurs after a vowel e.g. *deṇā* 'debt', *pāuṇā* 'receipt' etc.

-aṇā < OIA *-ana+ka-* e.g. OIA *krīḍanaka* = Oriya *kheḷaṇā* 'toy' and OIA *krandanaka* = Oriya *kāndaṇā* 'weeping.'

-aṇī (> *-uṇī*/*-uṇi*) < OIA *-ana+ī* (< *ikā*), this suffix is originally feminine in sense, but in modern Oriya it is used to indicate the pretty aspect of action or object. The feminine sense is now lost except where the word indicates a woman. The change of *-aṇī* > *-uṇī* is by vowel dissimilation e.g. *chāṇi*/*chāuṇi* 'roof' (OIA *chādanikā*), *chāṅkuṇī* filter,' *koraṇi* a kitchen 'instrument', *rāndhuṇī* 'kitchen-maid'. *-aṇi* is found in BD e.g. *maṇḍaṇi* 'decoration' (< *maṇḍanikā*) etc.

(4) *-ā*[1] < *-akaḥ* (e.g.- *a+kaḥ*). This affix signifies pejoration, reference or connection and it forms agentive adjectives. It is also some-times pleonastic. e.g. Caryā:- *hathā* 'hand' (41) < *hastakaḥ*, *pam̐uā* 'lotus' (49) (< *padmakaḥ* > *padumaka* > *pam̐uā*), *māgā* 'road' (8) (< *mārga-*), *pasārā* 'extension' < *prasāra-*(3,20), *nisārā* 'contraction' < *niḥsāra-* (3,20), *bīrā* 'hero' (4) (< *vīra-*), *hariṇā* 'deer' (6) (< *hariṇa-*) etc.; MP *pabitrā* (*banamāḷa*) 'purified', *muṇā* 'bag', *rakhiā* 'keeper', *jagiā* 'watchman' (Modern Oriya *jaguāḷi*), *meḷiā* (agentive) 'rebel', *Coragaṅgā* 'name of a king', *chatisā* (*niyoga*) 'thirty-six'; SD *bāḷā* 'son', *mahābirā* 'great hero', *dulaṇā* 'son' < *durlālana-*, *sabarā* (pejorative) 'one aboriginal tribe', *dakṣayajñabhañjā* (agentive) 'one who

2

breaks the sacrifice of Dakṣa', *rogā* 'weakened by diseases', *kuḍhaṅgā* 'ugly' (lit. 'of bad nature'), BD *pabitrāṅgā* 'sacred in body', *mahārathā* 'great charioteer', *mahābaḷabantā* 'possessor of great strength', *dvijā* 'brahmin', *tapobantā* 'ascetic', *juriā* 'spoiler', *huriā* 'shouter' (agentive), *nāuriā* 'boatman' (pleonastic as well as pejorative) *Bhadraba-nāmā* 'one who is named as Bhadraba'; Dinakṛṣṇa (Rasakallola): *Śyāmaḷiā* 'one of green colour', *cūrṇakuntaḷiyā* 'curly-haired', *koṭiduḥkhaharā* 'taker away of all (lit. a crore of) sufferings', *kapaṭīdhāiparāṇa-khiā* 'devourer of the life of the pseudo-nurse', *kañjalocaniyā* 'lotus-eyed', *utsāhā* 'encouragement', *nārīgharaburā* 'one who has defamed the women', *kāmaduhā* 'granter of wishes'; Modern Oriya: *kaṁsā* 'bellmetal' (<*kāṅsya*), *teliā* 'oily', *luṇiā* 'salty', *raṅgā* 'coloured', *tāuā* 'baking pan' (<*tāpaka*–), *paścimā* 'western', *dakṣiṇā* 'southern', *gharamũm̐hā̃m̐* 'desiring to go home (lit. facing home)', *ekā* 'alone' (<*–*ekaka*–), *ekalā* 'alone' (<**eka-la*–), *hātā* 'hand' (in *hātāhāti*), *keśā* 'hair' (in *keśākeśi*), *dhum̐ām̐*) 'smoke', *thāḷiā* 'dish', *kukuṛā* 'cock' (<*kukkuṭakaḥ*), *khaṇḍā* 'sword' (*khaṇḍa*–), *corā* 'secret' (<*cauraḥ*–), *kaḷā* 'black' (<*kāla*–), *dhaḷā* 'white' (<*dhavala*–), *bhala* 'good' (<*bhadra*–), *uñcā* 'high' (<*ucca*), *gorā* 'fair' (<*gaura*–), *Rāmā* 'a name' (<*Rāmakaḥ*), similarly *Dāmā*, *Śāmā* etc.

This affix is also found with some compound words used in Modern Oriya e.g. *pilā-dharā* 'child-lifter', *cāuḷadhuā* 'basket for washing rice', *lugākacā* (*sābun*) 'washing (soap)', *kaḷama-kaṭā* (*churī*) 'knife

for cutting the pen', *bhāta-randhā* (*hāṇḍi*) '(pot) for cooking rice' etc.

(5) *–ā*[2] : This suffix is used to form passive participles and verbal nouns. It is derived from OIA *–ta*, *–ita* > MIA *–a*, *–ia* + pleonastic *–ā*. Oriya has this affix in forms like *jaṇā* 'known > knowing' (< *jānita* + *ā*), *karā* 'done > doing', *dekhā* 'seen > seeing' and similarly *sikhā*' 'learning', *rakhā* 'keeping', *dharā* 'catching', *niā* 'taking', *diā* 'giving', *kuhā* 'speaking' etc. cp Caryā (20) saṅghārā 'contraction' < *saṅghārita* + *ā* (Loss of *–i* when the form is with pleonastic *–ā* started from Caryā period. The *–i–* forms with or without pleonastic *–ā* are common in Caryās. When the forms occur without pleonastic *–ā*, the final *–ā* is assimilated with the preceding *–i* as follows : *–ita* > *–ia* > *–ī*, *–i*, but when the forms occur with pleonastic *–ā* the preceding *–i–* is lost and *–a* + *ā* > *–ā* e.g. *saṅghārita* + *ā* > *saṅghāria* + *ā* > *saṅghāra* + *ā* > *saṅghārā* (vide ODBL **401**), MP *diā*, 'giving' *dāhā* 'burning' (as in *dāhā hoile*) etc.

(6) *–āi*[1] : This affix is found with some verbal and abstract nouns. It is a late formation in MIA being a feminine formation from the causative stem of the root. i.e. OIA *–āp–ikā* (e.g. Skt. *jñāpikā*) > MIA *–āviā* > *–āvia* > *–āvī* > *–āī* > *–āi*. Causative in *–āpa–* > *–āva–*, is a regular phenomenon in MIA. The following examples in Oriya show the affix *–āi* e.g. *laṛhāi* (√ *laṛh*) 'fighting', *khodāi* 'engraving' (√ *khod*), *jhaḷāi* 'soldering (√ *jhaḷ*), *bandhāi* 'binding' (√ *bandh*), *ḍhaḷāi* 'casting' (√ *ḍhaḷ*), SD *badhāi* goodwishes'.

This affix is comparatively restricted in use. Abstract nouns from noun and adjective bases are also formed by adding this affix, the nouns and adjectives being treated like denominative verbs. e.g. *miṭhāi* 'sweetness' > 'sweetmeat' (*miṭhā* < *miṣṭa*–), *baṛāi* 'pride' < *baṛa* etc. There are a few borrowings from Hindi showing this affix. e.g. *silāi* 'sewing', *dhulāi* 'washing', *saphāi* 'cleaning' etc.

(7) –*āi*[2] :- Affectionate diminutives like Old Oriya *Kanhāi*, *Danāi*, *Sanāi*, Modern Oriya *Kanhei*, *Danei*, *Sanei* etc. (–*āi* > –*ei* due to vowel harmony) show the affix –*āi*. The forms *Jagāi*, *Mādhāi* etc. also contain this affix. –*āi* is of pleonastic origin coming from Late MIA –*āia* < OIA –*ākika*; i.e. OIA –*ākika* > MIA –*āia* > Caryā –*āī* > Oriya –*āi*; e.g. *Kanhāi* 'a name' < **Kanhāī* < **Kanhāia* < **Kṛṣṇākika*–. cp Oriya Insc *Kan(h)āi* 'a name', *Keḷāi* 'a name', *Ramāi* 'a name' etc. This affix is found in various forms of Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi and Bihari.

(8) –*āita* :- This affix forms some agent nouns and is of secondary origin. cp Bihari –*āit*, Hindi –*ait* (in *ḍhālait* 'armoured soldier'). This affix is derived from –*ā*–*vṛtta* > –*ā*–*itta* > –*ā*-*ita*, cp OIA *vṛtti*, *vṛtta* 'livelihood'. *vṛtta* is found in Skt Harivaṃśa meaning livelihood. The suffix –*āita* is available in the folowing Oriya examples; e.g. *ḍakāita*/*ḍakāeta*/*ḍakeita* 'robber' cp Rasakalloḷa: *ḍakāetapaṇa* 'robbery', Nrusiṅgha-purāṇa: *sebāita* 'temple priest', Viṣṇupurāṇa *khaṇḍāita*/ Modern Oriya *khaṇḍeita* 'name of

a caste, orig. sword-man'. But *ṭikāita*/ *ṭikāeta* 'younger brother of paṭāita' and *paṭāita*/*paṭāeta*,*paṭeita* 'senior-most younger brother of the king' may be derived from OIA *ṭikkā-pātra*, *paṭṭa-pātra* respectively. Moreover *pañcāita*/*pañcāeta* may be a loan from Hindi and it is a sts word < OIA *pañcāyata*-. All the above forms are current in Modern Oriya.

Abstract nouns are formed from this affix by adding *-ī*, *-i*; e g. *ḍakāyati*/*ḍakāeti*, *sebāyati* etc.

Kākāti's derivation of *sebāita* < **sevāitra* is unacceptable because it is semantically untenable. Chatterji however derives it form OIA causative and denominative base *-āp-ant* and *-āy-ant* (vide ODBL 404).

(9) *-āu* :—This affix is available in a limited number of words used in Modern Oriya like *caṛhāu* 'attack' and *gherāu* 'encircling' which are loan words from other NIA languages like Hindi and Bengali. This is a verbal noun formative affix and is derived from the causative base *-āpa* with extension i.e. **āp-uk-ā* > *āvuā* > - *āuā* > *-āū* > - *āu*.

(10) *-āṇa* :—This is used to form some verbal nouns from causative and denominative base. e.g. *jaṇāṇa* 'prayer' (< OIA **jānāpana=jñāpana-*), *calāṇa* 'export' (< OIA **calāpana-=cālana-*), *śuṇāṇa* 'hearing' (< MIA **suṇāvaṇa-* < OIA **śṛṇā-pana-* =*śrāvaṇa-*), *bhiāṇa* 'creation' < OIA *bidhi*+ *āpana* (extended from *sthāpana* 'establishment', *jñāpana* 'information') > *bihi-āana* > *bihi̥āna* > *bhiāṇa* by syncopation or (*bhiāṇa*) < *bidhāna* (vide Sen: An

Etymological Dictionary of Bengali), similarly *uṭhāṇa* 'raising', *guṇāṇa* 'multiplication', *pheṛāṇa* 'substraction', *miśāṇa* 'addition', *lagāṇa* 'continuity', *bandāṇa* 'worshipping', *ḍarāṇa* causing fear', cp MP *bhiāṇa* 'creation', SD *basāṇa* (*kalā*) 'establishing, founding' etc.

-āṇi[1] :—It is the feminine form of *-āṇa* and is derived from OIA *-āpana + -ikā > Caryā *-āvanī* > Oriya *-āṇi* and *-āṇi* > *-aṇi*, *-uṇi*. This affix possesses a slight diminutive significance in some cases; e.g. *śuṇāṇi*, 'hearing', *jhāṅkuṇi* 'jogging', *dekhāṇi* 'showing (=*darśani*), *jāḷeṇi* 'fuel' (=*jāḷāṇi*), cp Bengali *j(v)ālāni*, *gaṛāṇi* 'uphill', *uṭhāṇi* 'downhill', *cāhām̐ṇi* 'glance', *parasuṇi*' serving maid', *māpuṇi* 'measuring (pot or basket)', *ḍhāṅkuṇi* 'covering', *māguṇi* 'begging', *karaṇi* 'doing' etc. (In some cases *-a-* is replaced by *-u-* due to influence of words where OIA *-aḥ* > *u-* e.g. *māguṇi* < *māgaṇi due to influence of *māgu <mārgaḥ).

(11) *-āṇi*[2] < *-āṇī* < *-pāṇī* 'water' (= OIA *pānīya-*). In compounds *-pāṇī* > *-vāṇī* and then the *-v-* is dropped and *-vāṇī* > *-āṇi*, e.g. *torāṇī* 'juce of the watered rice', *phuṭiāṇi* 'the boiling water of the rice being cooked', *siṅgāṇi* 'mucus', *bhātuāṇi* 'water for cooking the rice',

(12) *-āṇi*[3] :—This pleonastic affix is derived from OIA nt pl affix *-āṇi*, e.g. *-parbāṇi* in *parbaparbāṇi* 'festivals', *-karmāṇi* in *-karmakarmāṇi* 'ceremonies', so also *bāhāpuāṇi* 'marriage and remarriage ceremonies', *jhiajhiāṇi* (dialectal *jhiajhiāṇiā*)

'daughter and other similar relations', cp MP *parbāṇi* (meaning *parba* 'festival)'.

(13) *-āmi* :—It forms some abstract nouns and is derived from OIA **-karmikā* (>*-kammiā*>*-kāmi*>*-āmi*>*-āmi*) e.g. *ṭhakāmi* 'cheating', *phājilāmi* 'jesting' *phecakāmi* 'joking', *pāgalāmi* 'insanity', *bhaṇḍāmi* 'deceiving', *cagalāmi* 'fickleness', *duṣṭāmi* 'wickedness', *mūrkhāmi* 'foolishness', *māṅkaṛāmi* 'monkeyism' etc. In Bengali *-āma* (<*-karma*) is found side by side with *-āmi* to indicate abstract nouns. e.g. *pāglāma* 'insanity' besides *paglāmi*.

(14) *-āra*[1] (and its extensions *-āri*,*-arā*,*-urā*, *uri*, *-uri* (*ā*). These suffixes are used to indicate agent nouns. Sometimes they form adjectives.

(i) *-āra* < OIA-*kāra*-e.g. *kumbhāra* 'potter' (< *kumbha-kāra-*), *camāra* 'shoemaker' (<*carma-kāra-*), BD *baṇijāra* 'trader' (<*baṇija* + *āra* <*baṇija* + *kāra* <OIA *vāṇijya* + *kāra-*).

(ii) *-āri* < *-kāri-ka-* e.g. *kaṁsāri* 'bell-metal worker' (< OIA **kāṁsya-kārika-*), similarly *pūjāri* 'worshipper', *śaṅkhāri* 'a manufacturer or salesman of conch-shell materials', *bhikhāri/bhikāri* 'beggar', *juāri/juāṛi* 'gambler'(< OIA **dyūta-kārika-*), *sunāri* 'goldsmith' (<OIA **suvarṇa-kārika-*) etc. (Sometimes in Oriya *bhikhāri*, *pūjāri* etc. are written with *-ī* finally.)

(iii) *-arā* e.g. *pāṭarā* 'weaver of silken clothes' (<*paṭṭa-kara-ka-*); similarly *kācarā* 'salesman of glass-bangles', *pānarā* 'betel-seller', *ṭiṇarā* 'tin-worker',

ḍākarā 'call', *hakara* 'call', Abhimanyu: *cinharā* 'recogniser' (*grāhaka*), MP *cunarā* 'whitewash-maker' etc.

(iv) *-urā* e.g. *kharurā* 'bangle-maker', *kāndurā* 'wailer', *dānturā* 'having projecting teeth', *bālurā* 'foolish', *nukhurā* 'oilless', *bhuturā* 'shaggy', *suturā* 'neat' etc.

(v) *-uri* e.g. *kānduri* 'wailer', *dānturi* 'having projecting teeth', *suturi* 'neat', etc. with *-i* < *-ī* < fem *-ikā* (i.e. *kānduri* < OIA *kranda-kārikā*) etc. It is noteworthy that the *-u-* forms appear due to the influence of nom sg. *aḥ* > *o* > *u*).

(vi) *-uriā* e.g. *kāṭhuriā* 'wood-cutter', *nāuriā* 'boatman' etc. occur with pleonastic *-ā* additionally.

But *-āra* found in BD *baḷīyāra* 'mighty' etc. is due to the contamination of *baḷīyān* + *baḷītara.*

(15) *-āra*[2], (laso-*ara*) *-ārī* etc. These slightly alter the meaning of the word. *-āra -ara* < OIA-*ākāra-* e.g. *payāra/payara* (< *padākāra-*) 'foot of the verse'; *-ārī* < OIA *-tarikā*, *-arā* > *-urā* < OIA *-taraka-* and *-ari* > *uri* < *-tarikā-*, e.g. *jhiārī* 'neice' < OIA **duhitā-tarikā=duhitṛ-tarikā.* (It is note-worthy that *duhitā* > (disyllbic) *dhitā* (cp Oriya) jhia on the analogy of *pitā, mātā, bhratā*). Similarly *puturā* 'nephew' (which shows *-urā*) < *putra-taraka* > *putta-araa* > *puttārā* > *putta rā* > *puturā* and *bāchurī* 'calf' < *vatsa -tarikā* etc.

(16) *-āra*[3], *-āri* etc.

-āra : This suffix is used to form some place nouns and is derived from OIA *āgāra*, e.g. *bhaṇḍāra*

'store' (<OIA *bhāṇḍāgāra*), *khamāra* 'granary' (<OIA *khambāgāra*), *amāra* 'granary' (<OIA *amṛtāgāra*) etc.

-ārī : It forms agent nouns and comes from OIA *-āgārika-*. e.g. *bhaṇḍārī* 'store-keeper' (<OIA *bhāṇḍāgārika*'), similarly also *khamārī* (<OIA *khambāgārika-*) 'the man in charge of the granary'.

(17) *-āḷa*[1], *-āḷi*, *-āḷu*.

-āḷa <OIA *-āla* : This suffix forms adjectives as well as nouns which expresses some characteristics. e.g. *duhāṁḷa* 'milch (cow)', *sindhiāḷa* 'burgler', *kheḷuāḷa* 'player', *matuāḷa* 'intoxicated', *pāiṭiāḷa* 'labourer', *gaiṇṭhiāḷa* 'knotted-cloth', *āṛhuāḷa* 'covering'.

-āḷi is an extension of *-āḷa* and *-i* of *-āḷi* comes from OIA *-ika,-ikā* e.g. *bikāḷi* 'seller', *dekhāḷi* 'observer', *śuṇāḷi* 'hearer', *kunthāḷī* 'shouter (with pain)', *chuāḷi(ā)* 'childish', *bachāḷi* 'selector', *kaṭāḷi* 'cutter', *dudhiāḷi* 'milch' etc. cp also Caryā (50) *śabarāli* 'activity of the Sabara'.

-āḷu < OIA *-ālu*. It also signifies characteristics e.g. Caryā: *nidālu* 'sleepy' (36), Modern Oriya *dayāḷu* 'kind', *nidrāḷu* 'sleepy', *bhayāḷu* 'frightened' etc.

In BD *-āḷa* in *jhañjāḷa* (=*jhañja*) 'a musical instrument' is pleonastic, cp NP *maṛhiāḷā* 'silk cloth.'

(18) *-āḷa*[2] <OIA *pāla* > *-vāla* > *-āla* > *-āḷa*. It indicates profession. e.g. *rakhuāḷa* (<OIA *rakṣāpāla-*) 'protector' (cp Insc *rakhuvāḷa* 'keeper'),

kaṭuāḷa (< OIA *koṭṭa-pāla*) 'police-chief', *jaguāḷa* (< OIA *jāgṛ-pāla*) 'watch-man', similarly *gāiāḷa* 'cow-herd', *maiṁṣiāḷa* 'buffalow-herd', *hātiāḷa* 'elephant-keeper'.

(19) –*i*[1] < OIA –*ita*. It is the past participial suffix in Oriya. e.g. Modern Oriya *khāi* 'eating', *yāi* 'going', Insc & Modern Oriya *thāi* 'staying' etc. Also the extended form –*iṇa* (with *ṇa* pleonastic) occur in the forms: *yāiṇa*, 'going' *khāiṇa* ' eating' etc.

(20) –*i*[2] < –*ī*. This secondary affix is used to form nouns and adjectives. The sources of this affix are the following ;

(i) –*ī* < OIA –*in* e.g. *mālin* > *māḷī* > *māḷi* 'gardener', similary *hātī* 'elephant', *rāgī* 'wrathful'.

(ii) –*ī* < OIA –*īya* e.g. *deśīya* > *deśī* 'native' cp MP *dutī* (for **dutīya*) 'second'.

(iii) –*ī* < OIA –*ika* e.g. *śuṇḍika* > *śuṇḍī* 'vendor of liquor'.

(iv) –*ī* < OIA –*ikā*. This –*i*/*ī* is the popular feminine affix of Oriya.

In the following cases –*ī* is written short sometimes.

(a) –*ī* (> –*i*) :—With the sense of possessing, e.g. *bhārī* 'heavy', *rāgī* 'wrathful', *dāmī* 'precious', *dāgī* 'spotted', *guṇī* 'meritorious', *bāigaṇī* 'violet', *golāpī* 'pink' (cp. *golāpa* < Persian *gulāb*), *daradī* 'sympathetic' (cp Persian *dard*), BD *karaṇī* 'cause' (< –*ika*), *samudhī* 'father of the daughter-in-law or

son-in-law', *baḷī* 'mighty', *daśaaśvamedhī* 'performer of ten horse-sacrifices', *daśaśirī* 'ten-headed', *paṭuārī* 'procession', *pūṇyadehī* 'sacred body'.

(b) *-ī* > *-i* in the sense of 'belonging to' or 'pertaining to' e.g. *deśī* 'native', *bideśī* 'foreign' and *Mayūrabhañjī* 'belonging to Mayurabhanj', and so also *Marahaṭhī*, *Gujurāṭī*, *Kaṭakī*, *Bhubaneśvarī*, *Banārasī*, *Bṛndābanī*, *Māṇiābandī*, *Sambalapurī*, *Jājapurī*, *Kānāṛī* etc.

(c) Sometimes *-ī* > *-i* indicates trade or profession. ; e.g. *teli* 'oil-miller', *tantī* 'weaver', *śuṇḍī* 'vendor of liquor', *hāṛī* 'name of a caste', *cāṣī* 'farmer' and *bhaṇḍārī* 'barber' etc.

In BD *-ī* occurs as pleonastic affix. e.g. *dehī* 'body' (=*deha*), *āśramī* 'hermitage' (=*āśrama*). In *mahābīri* and *hruṣīkeśi* etc. *-i* is also used for metre.

In Insc *i/ī* indicates the idea of 'made of', 'related with' etc. e.g. *hirāmāṇinkī* 'made of diamond and jewels', *bāigaṇi* 'violet', *naipāri* 'river-bank' etc.

(d) *-ī* (< -OIA *ikā*) > *-i* : It forms feminine and abstract nouns and also diminutives e.g. MP *mukhuśāḷi* / *mukhuśiāḷi* 'fore-house of the temple', *bimbaḷāi* 'name of a goddess' (*-i* pleonastic); and SD *jañjāḷi* 'quarrel-some', *bātuḷī* 'mad', *bāḷī* 'girl'; BD *candramāmuhiṁ* 'moon-faced', *saubhāgī* 'fortunate', *śākambari* 'a name of Durga', *sulakṣaṇī* 'auspicious woman', *maṇḍaṇī* 'decoration', *dhabaḷāṅgī* 'of fair complexion'; Modern Oriya : *Rāi* (< *Rādhikā*), *ghoṛī* 'mare' (< **ghoṭikā*), *buṛhī* 'old woman' (< **vṛddhikā* = *vṛddhā*), *pāgaḷī* 'mad', *brāhmaṇī* 'Brahmin lady',

vaiṣṇabī 'devotee of Lord Visnu', *ruṭi* 'bread', *churī* 'knife', *pothi* 'manuscript', *batī* 'candle', *chati* 'umbrella', *ḍakāyati* 'robbery', *kāṭhi* 'stick', *nāli* 'red', *neḷi* 'blue' etc.

The Persian *-ī* of abstraction strongly influenced this affix (vide ODBL **419**, p. 673).

(.21) *-iā* < OIA *-ika + ā* : It forms adjectives in the sense of possession, pejoration, connection, and resemblance. It is also pleonastic and agentive. Sometimes it is used to express a diminutive sense.

In inscription the following uses are attested :— (i) It forms adjectives e.g. *bāḷiā* 'sandy', *bāiṁgaṇiā* 'violet'; (ii) It indicates connection e.g. *bhaṇḍāriā* 'store-keeper' etc. (iii) It expresses resemblance e.g. *khajuriā* 'resembling date-palm', *bāhiā* (?), *cakaliā* (?), cp Modern Oriya *thāḷiā* 'small plate', (iv) It is also agentive e.g. *drohiā* 'rebel', (v) It is pleonastic e.g. *Kāḷiā* 'a name, lit. black'.

cp further MP : agentive *meḷiā* 'rebel', *jagiā* 'watchman', *rakhiā* 'protector', *ṇogaṇiā* 'supplier'. SD : *caṇḍāḷiā* (pleonastic)' 'of Cāṇḍāḷa caste', *kṣetrapāḷiā* (agentive) 'protector of the field'. *khāṅkoriā* 'oilless', *rāiā* (?), *caṇḍiā* (?), *hāṇḍiā* (?), *āmbuā* (?). BD : *juriā* 'spoiler', *huriā* 'shouter', *nāuriā* 'boatman' (pleonastic and pejorative). etc. Modern Oriya : *dāṛhiā* 'bearded', *muniā* 'sharp', *jaṭiā* 'with matted locks', *madhuriā* 'sweet', *haḷadiā* 'yellow', *nāliā* 'red', *kāḷiā* 'black', *pāhāṛiā* 'hilly', *naikūḷiā* 'belonging to river-bank', and similarly *kaṭakiā*, *pāhāntiā*, *Bāleśvariā*, *Dheṅkānāḷiā*, *sahariā*,

maphasalia; so also *Haria, Rāmia, Gopāḷia, Dāmia* etc. signifying pejoration; also *pāuṁsia, haḷadia, nālia, neḷia, kapāḷia, telia, luṇia, karamaṅgia, kalarā-pataria, bāigaṇia, śuāpakhia śuānākia, cāṅḷia* etc.; cp further *rabibāria, dibeḷia, paharakia, sakāḷia, kharādinia, barṣakia, māghamāsia, deuḷia, dasahātia, cārigajia, bāisipaḷia, dasaṭaṅkia, pāñcaseria, dasaseria* etc. signifying connected with; cp further *mulia, haḷia, guṛia, ghāṭia, śagaṛia* etc. agentive; cp also *khaṭia* 'cot', *thāḷia* 'small plate', *gāṛia* 'small pond', *choṭia* 'small', *kaṁḷia* 'soft' etc. expressing a diminutive sense.

(22) *–ite*: It is found in dialectal Oriya to form present participle and infinitive. The source of this suffix is *–i* (past participial suffix) + *–te* (locative). Chatterji however derives it from OIA present participial base *–ant*+locative *–e*. e.g. Balasore dialect present participle: *yāite yāite* 'while going' (= standard *yāuṁ yāuṁ*); similarly *khāite khāite, karite karite* etc. Infinitive: Modern Oriya (dialectal) e.g. *dekhte*= *dekhite* (cp *muṁ yātrā dekhte jimi* 'I will go to see the drama'); BD *cālite* 'to walk' (*cālite aśakata* 'unable to walk'), *dekhite* 'to see' (*ekābeḷe bhājana ke dekhite jagata* 'who is able to see the world at a time'). cp JD (Bhāgabata) : *śuṇite* 'to hear', *jāṇite* 'to know' cp also Rāmabibhā : *śuṇita* (= *śuṇite*) 'to hear'.

(23) *–iba*: *–iba* forms the future base from which the verbal adjectives as well as verbal nouns are formed with an extended form *–ib–ā*. *–iba* < OIA *–itavya* (> MIA *–iabba* > *–ebba* > *–ibba* > *–iba*); verbal adjectives e.g. *karibā* (*kāma*) 'worth-doing

(work)', *kahibā* (*kathā*) 'worth-speaking', *khāibā* (*jiniṣa*) 'worth-eating', *pibā* (*pāṇi*) 'worth-drinking', *gāibā* (*gīta*) 'worth-singing' etc. ; verbal nouns ; e.g. *kahibā* 'speaking' (*mora kahibā sarini*), *ṇibā* 'going' (*tāra ṇibā ṭhik hoichi*) etc.

(24) *-iḷa* < MIA *-i-la* < OIA *-i-la* (pleonastic and adjectival affix ; cp Pāṇini, V. iii. 79) : It forms adjectives from nouns. e. g. *chaiḷa* 'picturesque', *svapniḷa* 'dreemy', *kuṭiḷa* 'crooked', *sarpiḷa* 'snake-like', *bakriḷa* 'curved' etc. (It should be noted that OIA *-ila-* > MIA *-ila* / *-illa* and Oriya *-iḷa* < MIA *-ila*, but Oriya **-ila* < MIA *-illa*. Bengali or Hindi *-ila* may be derived from MIA *-ila*/*-illa*).

(25) *-ilā* / *-lā* :—It forms the base for the past tense and is found with a few nouns and adjectives (formed from the past base). It is derived from OIA -(*i*)*ta* + pleanastic *-ila-ka-* > MIA **-ia-illa-a* > **-illā* > *-ilā*. Noun : e.g. BD *boilā* 'speech' (meaning '*bāṇi*' in Modern Oriya) as in *mohara boilā* 'my speech'. Adjective : e.g. MP *āṇilā* 'one who has brought' (*brahma āṇilā Bisara Mahāntiṅki pora nāeka kaḷe*') ; similarly Modern Oriya adjectives : *khāilā* (*bhāta*), *kahilā* (*kathā*), *pindhilā* (*lugā*), *śoilā* (*pilā*), (*śoilā* < **svapita* + *ilaka*), *bhokhilā* (*loka*) (< *bubhukṣita* + *ilaka*), *māgiāṇilā* (*tiaṇa*), *phuṭilā* (*bhāta*), *garajilā* (*megha*), *galā* (*chuṭi*) (*galā* < *gata* + *ilaka-*), *khāilā* (*pua*), *delā* (*loka*), *basilā* (*ghia*) etc.

(26) *-u*[1] < *-o* < *aḥ*. It is pleonastic and generally found with affectionate forms of names e.g. *Kāhnu* (=*kṛṣṇa-*), *Pañcu* (=*pañcānana-*), *Rāju*, *Rādhu*, *Keḷu* etc.

(27) *-u*[2]*/um̐* < *-o* < **-aḥ* (for *an*). This is a primary suffix and the forms with it are generally repeated. It expresses the meaning 'about to do something'. e.g. *ḍubu ḍubu* 'about to sink', *uṛu uṛu* 'about to fly', and similarly *buṛu buṛu, libhu libhu, dau dau, hau hau* etc. It is same as the present participle-affix *-u* found in *khāu khāu, jāu jāu* etc. The origin of this *-u* suffix is as follows: OIA *-ant* > *-a*/ *-anta* in MIA, e.g. OIA *gacchant-* > MIA *gaccha-* / *gacchanta-*. Both of these forms come under the *-a* stem, and when *khāda-* < *khādant-* is declined (under *-a* stem) the nom sg form is **khādaḥ*, this **khādaḥ* > *khādo* > *khādu* > *khāu*/*khāum̐*. cp KhD *icho* (=Skt *icchan*) < **icchaḥ* (which is through a transfer to *-a* stem by loss of the final consonant). This *icho* > *ichu* in Apabhraṃśa stage besides forms like *icchaṁ* < OIA *icchan*. And *ichu* > *ichum̐* due to the influence of *icchaṁ*, cp also Girnar *karu* besides *karuṁ*. Further more this *-u*/ *-um̐* is extended to all roots. That is why we get double forms like *jāu/jāum̐, khāu/khāum̐* etc. Hoernle derives *-u* < *-anta* which is phonologically untenable. Chatterji derives *-u* < *-uka* which is semantically inadmissible.

(28) *-uā*[1]. This is a secondary affix used to form some adjectives from noun stems. *-uā* < *-u* + *ā* < *-o* (< *-aḥ*) + *ā* (< *-aka-*). e. g. *bhāruā* 'bearer' < *bhāraḥ* + *aka* > *bhāro* + *aa-* > *bhāru-ā*. Similarly *kaṛhuā* 'budding', *cāḷuā* 'living on the roof' *gātuā* (*mūṣā*) 'living in a hole', *andhāruā* 'darkish', *sakāḷuā* 'pertaining to dawn', *baṇuā* 'wild', *gharuā* 'domestic', *aṣāṛhuā* 'pertaining to the month of Āṣāṛha',

dānuā 'fit for donation', *nāṭuā* 'belonging to drama performances', *haḷuā* 'ploughing', *hāṭuā* 'belonging to market', *bāṇuā* 'archer', *sāpuā* 'snake-like', *michuā* 'lier', *khiacuā* 'vilifier', *māṛuā* 'deserving beating', *dāṛhuā* 'sharp', *hāṛuā* 'bone-like', *meghuā* 'cloudy', *pāṭhuā* 'studying', *paṅkuā* 'muddy', *tāṇuā* 'hard', *āṇṭuā* 'adament', *aḷasuā* 'dull', *sāguā* 'green', *kāṭhuā* 'thick like wood', *paṛhuā* 'studying', *dhāruā* 'sharp', *laṛhuā* 'fighting', etc. also cp Caryā *garuā* 'heavy' (28) and *saruā* 'thin' (30) (=Modern Oriya *gaurā* and *saruā*).

(29) *-uā*[2] <*-u*+ pleonastic *ā*. It is found with proper names to indicate contempt. Very rarely it is used with other nouns. e.g. proper names : *Jaduā, Madhuā, Sādhuā, Raghuā* etc.; and with other nouns: SD *bhāluā* 'bear' and Modern Oriya *hāṭuā, bāṭuā, ghāṭuā* etc.

(30)*e* : This has a twofold origin.

(a) *-e*[1]. In origin and use this is a plural forming suffix and is derived from OIA inst pl *-ebhiḥ*. This is also used for honorific singular. e.g. plural: BD *bire* 'heros', *kanyāe* 'daughters', *poye* 'sons', *tapie* 'ascetics' ete. Modern Oriya *pile* 'boys', *loke* 'men', *jhie* 'girls' etc. Honorific singular : BD *munie* 'the ascetic' and similarly *puruṣe, debatāe, Brahmāe* etc. Modern Oriya *paṇḍite, miśre, āpaṇe* (in *miśra āpaṇe*), *padhāne, abadhāne* etc.

(b) *-e*[2]<OIA *eka-* used to express 'one' in an indifinite sense ; e.g. *sahe, hajāre, pāe, adhe* etc.

(31) *(a)ka*, *-(a)kā* etc.

(a) *-(a)ka*^{1}. It forms nouns (abstract, concrete and onomatopoetic). e.g. *maṛaka* 'pestilence' (*maṛa*=*mr̥ta*), *saṛaka* (*saṛa*=*sr̥ta*) 'road', *phāṭaka*/*phaṭaka* (√*phāṭ* 'split') 'gate', *aḷaka* 'confinement', *jhaḷaka* 'sparkling' and similarly *palaka*, *baiṭhaka* (< *baiṭṭha*- < *upaviṣṭa*-) etc. Oriya *-aka* has two sources. (i) *-aka* < MIA *-akka* < OIA *-(a)kya* cp epic *pārakya*. (ii) *-aka* < MIA *-akka* < OIA *-āka* (OIA *-āka* > *-akka* in MIA due to the shortening of the vowel and gemination of the con onant). Thus *maṛaka* < OIA **mr̥takya-*/**mr̥tāka*,-, *saṛaka* < OIA **sr̥takya-*, **sr̥tāka-* etc.

(b) *-(a)kā* < *-aka*^{2} + *ā*. (Here *-aka* is the pleonastic suffix and is different from the former *-aka*^{1}). This is an adjectival and pleonastic affix implying coarseness in the object. It is generally found with onomatopoetic words. e.g. *phaṭakā* (in *tāḷaphaṭakā*), *nahakā*, *phoṭakā* (in *bisiphoṭakā*), *huṛukā* (=*huṛakā*), *chiṭikā* (=*chiṭakā*), *maṭakā*, *naṛakā*, *kaṛakā*, *gedhakā* 'fat' (< *gedha* 'one type of monkey that is very fat'), *phulukā*, *damakā* etc. The *-(i)kā*, *-(u)kā* forms as in *chiṭikā*, *huṛukā* etc. are due to vowel harmony and *-a-* > *-i-*, *-u-* when the root or the base contains these vowels. *-(a)ki* is found in *baiṭhaki* (< OIA **upaviṣṭakyikā*) which may be a loan from Hindi.

(c) *-ka* (< OIA *-kr̥ta*) used frequently in SD, BD etc. with verbal forms as well as other forms (e.g. *kaḷāka*, *deḷāka*, *boilāka*, *rakhibeka*, *thokāeka*, *mātraka*, *esaṇeka* etc.) is an emphatic particle.

(32) *-kiā* < OIA *-kr̥taka*. This is an adjectival affix. e.g. *gaṇḍākiā* (numeration table by fours), *boṛikiā* (numeration table by twenties) and similarly *paṇikiā, barṣikiā, dinikiā, māsikiā, oḷikiā, ghaṇṭākiā, kaṛākiā/kaṛikiā etc.*

(33) *-(a)ṭa*[1] (< MIA *vaṭṭa* < OIA *varta*) and its extensions *-(a)ṭā, -(a)ṭi* etc. (cp OIA *varta, vartikā, vr̥tta, vr̥ttika, vr̥ttikā* < √*vr̥t*). It indicates resemblance, signifies connection and modification. Sometimes it is pleonastic.

(i) *-aṭa* e.g. *jhapaṭa* (< OIA **jhampa-varta*) 'quick', *jamāṭa* (*jamā* < Perso-Arabic *jam* + *vr̥tta*) 'solid', *tarāṭa* (< OIA *tārā* + *varta*) 'a flower', *kuhāṭa* (< OIA *kathā* + *vr̥tta*) 'shouting' and similarly *bharāṭa, kerāṭa* etc.

(ii) *-aṭā* < *-aṭa* + *-ā* e.g. *cepaṭā* 'flattened' (< **cipaṭā* 'flat' < OIA √*cip* 'press' + *vr̥tta*, cp MIA *civiḍaa* = OIA *cipiṭaka* 'flattened rice)', *śukuṭā* 'dried' (< **śukaṭā* < OIA *śuṣka* + *vr̥tta*), *ukuṭā* 'rummage' (< OIA **utka* + *varta*), *cimuṭā* 'pinching' etc.

(iii) *-aṭi* in *gumuṭi* = *gumaṭi* < OIA *gulma* + *vartikā* 'cottage'.

(iv) *-ṭā, -ṭi* are the definite articles. The former generally indicates coarseness and is used pejoratively and the latter is commonly used to imply diminutiveness and used with nice objects. e.g. *gharaṭā, gachaṭā, buṛhāṭā, pilāṭā, seṭā, eṭā* etc. generally indicate pejoration and coarse objects where as *gharaṭi, gachaṭi, pilāṭi, seṭi, eṭi* etc. are commonly

used with nice objects. *-ṭā* <OIA *-kr̥tva-* + *-ka* e.g. *pāñcaṭā* <OIA *pañca-kr̥tvaka* > *pañca-kaṭaa* > *pañca-aṭa-a* > *pāñca-ṭā*. This *-ṭā* is extended to other forms also. (But Oriya *pāñcoṭā*=*pāñcagoṭā* <OIA *pañca-kr̥tva-aka* > *pañca-guṭā* > *pañca-goṭā* > *pāñcoṭā* > *pāñcoṭā*). Similarly *-ṭi* <OIA *-kr̥tva* + *ikā-* e.g. *pāñcaṭi* <OIA *pañca-kr̥tva* +*ikā-* > *pañca-aṭa*+*iā* > *pāñcaṭi*. But *pāñcoṭi*=*pāñca-goṭi* <OIA *pañca-kr̥tva*+*ikā* > *pañcaguṭiā* > *pāñcoṭi*. *-ṭiā* <OIA *-vr̥ttika*+*ka* e.g. *bharāṭiā* 'tenant' (<*bhr̥taka-vr̥ttika-ka*), *hiṁsukuṭiā* 'envious', (< *hiṁsuka* + *-ṭiā*, but *ekāṭiā* / *ekuṭiā* 'alone' <**eka-kr̥tva-ika-*).

(34) (*-a*)*ṭa*^{2}, *-*(*a*)*ṭi* : differs from *aṭa*^{1} (above 33) in use and origin: e.g. *-aṭa* in *malāṭa* 'cover' <OIA *mala* (*nivāraka*) + *paṭṭa* and *-aṭi* in *kaṣaṭi* 'touchstone' < OIA *kaṣa-paṭṭikā*, cp Skt *nikaṣa* <Skt **nikr̥ṣa*.

(35) *-ṛa*, *ṛā*, *ṛi*, *ṛī* etc.

(a) *-ṛa*^{1}, *-ṛā*^{1}, *-ṛi*^{1}/ *-ṛī*^{1}

(i) *-ṛa*^{1}. It forms abstract nouns and is derived from OIA *-kr̥ta* > *-kaṭa* > *-aṭa* > *-aṛa* > *-ṛa*), e.g. *yogāṛa* (<OIA *yoga-kr̥ta* > *joga-kaṭa* > *joga-aṭa* > *joga-aṛa* > *yogāṛa*), 'collection', similarly also *uhāṛa*, *ohāṛa* 'covered', but *kheḷuāṛa* (< *khela-kr̥taka* ?) 'player' may be a loan word.

(ii) *-ṛā*^{1} <OIA *-kr̥taka*. It is agentive and sometimes forms abstract nouns. e.g. *āṅkuṛā*. (< *aṅka-kr̥taka*) 'hook', *bāpuṛā* 'poor', *rājuṛā* 'royal', *kāmuṛā* (e.g. *kāmuṛā kukura*) 'biting', *jhagaṛā* 'quarrel', *kacaṛā* 'falling', *ṭukuṛā* 'piece'.

(iii) Similarly *-ṛi¹-ṛī¹* / *-ṛiā* agentive < *-kṛta* + *ika* e.g. Modern Oriya *āṅkuṛī* (< OIA *aṅka-kṛta-ika*), *juāṛī*, *bāguṛi*, *dāmuṛi*, *pagaṛi*, *yogāṛiā* (< *yoga-kṛta- ika-*) *dānuṛiā* etc.

(b) *-ṛā²*/*ṛi²*/*ṛī²* pleonastic: e.g. Caryā *bāpuṛī* 'dear' (38), *bahuṛī* 'bride' (2), *nāvaṛī* 'boat' (38), Modern Oriya : *kaṅkaṛā* 'crab', (< OIA *karka-ṭa*, cp Gk *karkinos*), *cipuṛā* 'pressed', *camaṛā* 'skin', *cakaṛā* 'wheel', *bāṅkaṛā* 'curved' and similarly *bagaṛā*, *baraṛā*, *chaṛā* (cp MIA *vaccha-ḍa* < *vatsa-*), *bāpuṛā* (cp Sauraseni Apabh *vappuḍā*, available also in Caryā 10), *godaṛā*, *goraṛā*, *cāṅguṛā*, *karaṛā*, *pākhuṛā*, *pākhuṛī*, *godaṛi*, *entuṛi*, *karaṛi*, *cāṅguṛi*, *goraṛi* etc. *ākhaṛā* 'common-room' may be a loan from Hindi (cp Hindi *akhāṛā*). *-ṛā*/*-ṛī*/*-ṛi* < OIA *-ṭaka*,*-ṭikā* (= *-ṭa*,*-ṭi*,*-ṭī* found in OIA *karka-ṭa*, *karpa-ṭa*, *vadhūṭī*, *parkaṭi*). Hoernle's derivation of *-ṛa* < *-dṛśa* is untenable. But he also suggests that *-ṛa* < *-ḍa* < *-ṭa* (Gaudian Grammar, **218**). Chatterji derives *-ṛ-* < OIA √*vṛt* which is semantically inadmissible (ODBL p. 688).

(36) *-ta* < OIA *-patra* (a decayed word, found in some disguised compounds, which has acquired the force of a suffix). e.g. *karata* 'saw' < OIA *kara-patra*. Similarly *-ta* < OIA *-pātra* e.g. *duāta* (< *dra-vapātra*) 'inkpot', *-ti* < OIA *-trikā* e.g. *khaṇati* 'shovel' < OIA **khanatrikā* (cp Skt *khanitra*).

(37) *-uta* < *putra* as is found in *bāḷuta* 'young child' (< OIA *bāla-putra*) cp Beng *jeṭhutᵃ*, *māsutᵃ*, *khuṛutᵃ* etc.

(38 *–ṇi/ṇī, –āṇi/āṇī, –iṇi/–iṇī, –uṇī/–uṇī*. These suffixes are) used in Oriya for formation of feminines and sometimes also for the formation of diminutives. In OIA the suffix *–ānī* was used for formation of a few feminine nouns out of masculines in *-a* e.g. OIA *indra*: *indrāṇī*, *mātula*: *mātulānī*, *ācārya*: *ācāryāṇī* etc. Besides this, the stems in *–in* have feminines in *–in–ī* which actually comes under the suffix °*–ī* in OIA. But since the nom sg of *–in* stem had *–ī* e.g. *hastin* : nom sg *hastī* and fem was *–in-ī*, in MIA stage *–nī/–ṇī* became a fem formative by meta-analysis of forms like *hastinī* by taking it to be *hasti-nī*. This meta-analysis was influenced by the masc nom sg *hastī* which became the stem in MIA and NIA. The MIA suffix *–nī, ṇī* might have been partly influenced by the OIA forms like *indrāṇī*, *rudrāṇī*, *baruṇānī* etc. to become prolific. cp MIA *bhikkhunī/–ṇī* from masc *bhikkhu–*, *śiśinī* (Huviṣka Insc)=OIA *śiṣyā*. In NIA this *–nī*, *ṇī* is further extended into *ānī*, *āṇī*, *inī*, *iṇī*, *unī*, *uṇī* etc. This *–ā–*, *–i–*, *–u–* before *nī/ṇī* might have been final vowel of the masc stem. e.g. *kācarāṇī* < *kācarā*, *muliāṇī* < *muliā*, *pūjāriṇī* < *pūjārī*, *keḷuṇī* < a lost masc *keḷu* beside current *keḷā*. In some cases *–nī/–ṇī* owes its origin to tadbhava nouns in *–aṇa* + *ī* < OIA *–anikā*, e.g. *rẽndhuṇī* (< *randhanikā*), *ghoṛaṇi* (<**ghoṭanikā*). Similarly *oṛhaṇī* besides *oṛhaṇā*, *kāhāṇī* (< *kathānikā*) etc. There are also some hybrid forms like *mahātmaṇī* (< OIA *mahātmā*+*ṇī*), *bandinī* etc.

Moreover *-inī* of *yoginī*, *mālinī* etc. have further been extended in NIA as a fem suffix to some tatsama

and tadbhava words which did not contain this suffix in OIA e.g. *abhāginī* (<OIA *abhāga-* cp fem *abhāgā*), *sohāginī*, *suhāginī* (<OIA *saubhāgya-*), *anāthinī* (<OIA *anātha* cp fem *anāthā*) etc. Furthermore the following words may be noted where *-ṇī* may not be a suffix e.g. *gosāmaṇī* (< OIA *gosvāminī*), *bhuāsuṇī* (<OIA *vadhūkāsvāminī*), *sundarasuṇī* 'name of a goddess' (<OIA *sundara-svāminī*) etc. Some illustrations of *ṇi*, *-āṇī*, *-iṇī*/*-inī*, *-uṇī* are cited below : *mitaṇi* 'lady friend' and similarly *pāṭarāṇī* <*pāṭarā*) *bāyāṇī*, *kācarāṇī*, *muliāṇī*, *guṛiāṇī*, *baidāṇī*, *mā̃hā̃ntiāṇī*, *ṭhākurāṇī*, *paṇḍiāṇī*, *ḍāktarāṇī*, *māṣṭarāṇī*, *paṇḍitiāṇī*, *sāāntāṇī*, *tantiāṇī*, *bihaṅginī*, *cātakinī*, *pretinī*, *rajakinī*, *pūjāriṇī*, *caṇḍāḷuṇī*, *camāruṇī*, *kamāruṇī*, *gauṛuṇī*, *kāṅgāḷuṇī*, *cāṣuṇī*, *pāluṇī* etc.

(39)*-paṇa*/*paṇiā* <OIA *-tvana*/*-tvanikā* (OIA *-tvana* > *-tpana* > **-ppana* > *-pana*). The change of *-tv-* > *-pp* indicates that it might have originated in the south-western region in the first stage of MIA (in Girnar *-tv-* > *-tp-* > *-pp-*), cp Girnar *tadatpana*. *-tvana* is available in Vedic language cp Vd *Kavitvana*, Gk *-suno* in *doulosunos* 'slavery', Av *āstaothwanəm* 'praise'. Some illustrations having the suffix *-paṇa* are cited below : e.g. Caryā *gharapaṇa* 'domestic affair', Insc *gālupaṇa* 'obstinacy' and similarly MP *kṛpaṇapaṇa*, *ẏātrīpaṇa* ; SD *narendrapaṇa*, *karaṇapaṇa* ; BD *duṣṭapaṇe*, *pratāpīpaṇa*, *nṛpatipaṇa*, *dhārmikapaṇa*, *satyapāḷapaṇa*; Modern Oriya *puruṣapaṇa* besides *puruṣapaṇiā*, similarly *gharaṇipaṇa* besides *gharaṇipaṇiā*, *pāragapaṇa*, *bohupaṇa*,

besides *bohupaṇiā*, *ḍāhāṇāpaṇa*, *asurapaṇa* etc.; cp double affixation in Rādhānāth *mahatapaṇiā* < **mahatva-tvanikā*.

(40) *-pā* < OIA *-tva-ka* (cp RV *kartva* agent noun). It forms agent nouns, e.g. *mālapā* 'oil' (< OIA **mardatvaka-* > *maldatpaka* > *mallapaa* > *mālapā*).

(41) *-banta* (< MIA *-vanta* < OIA *-vanta*). It expresses possession e.g. MP *bidyābanta*, *surabanta*; *bhagabanta* ; BD *dhanabanta*, *tapobanta*, *mahimābanta*, *maryādābanta*, *pratijñābanta* ; Modern Oriya *guṇabanta*, *bhāgyabanta*, *śrībanta*, *ẏaśobanta* etc.

(42) *-manta* < MIA *-manta* < OIA *manta*. *manta* in Oriya has twofold implications. (i) *-manta* used as possessive adjectives. e.g. *śrīmanta*, *guṇamanta*, *Hanumanta* (name), BD *śucimanta* etc. (ii) *-manta* used as pronominal adjectives and adverbs. e.g. *emanta* 'like this' *ẏemanta* 'like that', *kemanta* 'like what' and similarly *emiti*/*emanti* (< *emant-ika*), *ẏemiti*, *kemiti*, *imiti*, *ẏimiti*, *kimiti*, cp MP *emanta*, *emantare*.

Actually *-vant* and *-yant* are used to form quantitative pronouns in OIA (e.g. OIA *etāvant*, *tāvant*, *kiyant*, *yāvant*, RV *kīvant* etc.). But in MIA they form pronominal adverbs as well. (vide CGMIA p. 127). e.g. Pali *kīva-*, Aśokan *kiyaṁ*, Ap *kiva*, *kima-*, *jāma-*, *jama-*, *jima-*. In Apabhraṃśa *-mant* also appears to form pronominal adverbs (as in *kima-*, beside *kiva-*) probably due to interchangeability of *-mant* and *-vant* (even in OIA) in other occasions.

(43) *-ru* < **rū* < MIA *rūva* < OIA *rūpa*. It signifies similarity and occurs in a few words. e.g. *goru* (< **gorū* < MIA *gorūva* < OIA *gorūpa*) 'cow' cp Hindi *gorū*, Beng *goru* and also cp Middle Beng *ghoṛāru*, *śaśāru*.

(44) *-la* / *-ḷa*, *-lā* / *-ḷā*, *-li* / *-ḷi*/*-ḷī*. In OIA *-la* is an adjectival affix, also implying a possessive sense. It is pleonastic and sometimes indicates a modifying sense in Oriya. The suffixes *-ila*, *-ula*, *-iḷa*, *-uḷa* (< MIA *-illa*, *-ulla*, *-ila*, *-ula*) etc. are merely the forms of the formative *-la* with *-i-* and *-u-* themes (i.e. *-iḷa* in *raktiḷa* 'reddish', *-uḷa* in *mañjuḷa* 'beautiful' etc.). OIA *-la* > MIA *-lla*/*-la*. Oriya *-la* < MIA *-lla* and Oriya *-ḷa* < MIA *-la*. Some examples are illustrated below. e.g. *adhalā* 'half-pice' (< OIA *ardhala*) and similarly *poilā* (OIA **pota-la*), *āgulā* (< OIA **agrala*), *agilā* (< OIA **agrila*), *nahulī*, *nāhulī* (< OIA **nava-l-ikā*), *mātala* (< OIA **matta-la*), *bādala* (< OIA **vārdala-*), *mādala* (< OIA **mardala*) etc., *cheḷi* (< OIA **chāgalikā*) *pākaḷa* (< OIA **pakva-la*), *pataḷā* (< OIA **patra-la-*), fem *pataḷī* (< OIA *patra-li-*), *bijuḷi* (< OIA **vidyutlikā*).

(45) *-sa*, *-sā*, *-chā*. It signifies resemblance and is sometimes pleonastic. Hoernle derives it < OIA *sadṛśa* (Gaudian Grammar **292**). Chatterji however derives it from OIA *-śa* (< IE *k̂o* vide Brugmann.). In OIA this formative was both pleonastic and adjectival with an implication of similarity or likeness. e.g. OIA *yuvaśa*, *loma-śa*, *etaśa*, *kapi-śa*,

karkaśa etc. *–a+ –śa > –asa*, fem *–as–ī* e.g. *kholasa* 'cast off skin of a snake', *āpasa* 'mutual' (< OIA **ātma–śa > āppa–sa > āpasa*), *rūpasī* (**rūpa–śa–ikā*) 'beautiful' etc. Further more this *–a–śa + āka > asā > –sā–* (this *a–śa+āka > – chā* also) e.g. *paisā* 'pice' (< **pāda–śa–*, *pāda*=one fourth), and similarly *jhāpᵃsā*, *ābᵃchā* (cp *ābha*='*abhra*' 'thin cloud') etc. The extensions of this affix are *–a–s–iyā > –aci(y)ā*, *–ā–s–iyā > āci(y)ā*. e.g. *lālaciā* 'reddish', *haladiāciā* 'yellowish', *kalāciā* 'blackish', *pāṇiciā* 'liquidish'. (But *–ciā* may also be derived from OIA *–tya+ika* and *chā* < OIA *–thya–* cp OIA *avithya* 'fit for sheep', *ajathya* 'fit for goat' etc.). In the following onomatopoetics *–ā–s–ᵃ* may be connected with *–sa* affix. e.g. *dhapās*, *dharās*, *phatās* etc. all meaning 'suddenly'.

(46) *–sarā, sara* < OIA *sara* < √*sṛ* 'moving'. (For an alternative derivation vide Ordinal Numerals below). It is used to form ordinals, and a few other adjectives and nouns. e.g. *dosara* 'lit. a second, friend', *dosarā* 'lit. second, another', *tesarā* 'third' (cp OIA *tisraḥ, catasraḥ*). Hoernle derives it from '*sṛta*' which is phonologically untenable.

(47) The following formatives (which are often merely mutilated forms of some words) form parts of compounds e.g. *bharā* in *peṭabharā*, cp Hindi *dinbhar*; *sārā* in *dinasārā*, *rātisārā* and *karā* in *śatakarā* etc.

B. TATSAMA SUFFIXES

The following tatsama suffixes are used in Oriya :

(1) *-imā* <OIA *-iman*. It forms nouns from adjective base. e.g. *baṛimā* 'pride' (<MIA *vaḍḍhimā* <OIA **vṛddhimā*), *baṅkimā* 'curvedness', (<OIA *vakrimā*) ; similarly *lālimā*, *garima/gārimā* etc. ; cp MIA *muṇisima* (=*manuṣyatva* in OIA), *gahirimā* =OIA *gabhīratva*), cp also Caryā *pārima* (=*pāra*). This formative is more literary than coloquial.

(2) *-iṣṭha* <OIA *-iṣṭha*. This is frequently found with tatsama words which are directly loan from Skt e.g. MP *dharmiṣṭha* 'religious', *karmiṣṭha*, 'active' etc. It is very rare with tadbhava words.

(3) *-īya* <OIA *-īya*. It forms adjectives from foreign and other names. e.g. *Bhāratīya* 'Indian', *Yuropīya* 'European' and similarly *Baṅgīya*, *Utkaḷīya*, *Ārabīya*, *Miśarīya*, *Khrīṣṭīya*, *Ruṣīya* etc.

(4) *-ka*, *-aka*, *-ika*, *-uka*. It forms adjectives. Oriya *-ka*,*-aka* etc. may be derived from two sources. As a tadbhava suffix it may be derived from MIA *-kka*, *-akka* and as a tatsama suffix it owes its origin to OIA *-ka*, *-aka* etc. Tatsama *-ka*, *-aka* etc. may be illustrated by the following tatsama words. e.g. *paitṛka*, *bāḷaka*, *sāmājika*, *maukhika*, *jñāpaka*, *dainika*, *pākṣika*, *baiṣayika*, *bhābuka*, *ninduka*, *bhikṣuka* etc. Since many words with the affix *-ka* are used even in the colloquial speech quite frequently, it has become a familiar formative in Oriya.

(5) *-kāṛa* <OIA *-kāra*. It forms agent nouns. e.g. (Insc) *bāi(ṁ)sikāra* 'flutist', but in (Insc)

sanamatakāra (=*sanamata*) the *-kāra* is pleonastic, and the formation may be due to the analogy of *svīkāra*. The tatsama words like *kumbhakāra, svarṇa kāra* etc. although quite frequent are used in literary speech.

(6) *-ta, -ita* <OIA *-ta, -ita* (passive participl affix). This is very frequent in Oriya and was probably reintroduced in Late MIA period in which it was written *-tta, -itta*. It is found with tatsama as well as tadbhava words. With tatsama words : e.g. *khyāta, jñāta, tapta, jāta, patita, nindita, bādhita* etc. With tadbhava and semi-tatsama wards : e.g. *āharita* (=*āhṛta*), *ekatrita* (=*ekatra*), *niḥśeṣita* (=*niḥśeṣa*), *namita* (=*nata*), *khanita* (=*khāta*), *daṁśita* (=*daṣṭa*), *anubādita* (=*anūdita*) and similarly *janmita, ujjaḷita, camakita,* cp Caryā (8) *bharitī* (Modern Oriya *bharti*), which shows a form in *-ita* + *-ī* (fem), also cp Caryā (9) *nibitā* (Modern Oriya *nibṛta*) < MIA *nivvitta* < OIA *nivṛta*.

(7) *-tā* < OIA *-tā* e.g. *sthiratā, jaṛatā, madhuratā, udāratā* etc. It forms abstract nouns and is very often wrongly affixed to tatsama and semitatsama words. e.g. *sakhyatā* (=*sakhya*), *dhairyatā* (=*dhairya*), *ādhikyatā* (=*ādhikya*) and similarly *romāñcikatā saujanyatā* etc.

(8) *-ti, -ati*. These suffixes are used to form some abstract nouns of action or manner. e.g. *gaṇati* (< OIA *gaṇati/gaṇiti*) 'counting', *bhaṇati* (< OIA *bhaṇati / bhaṇiti*) 'speaking' etc. But *cukti* 'contract', *kamti* 'less' may be loan words from Hindi.

(9) *-tva* < OIA *-tva.* It is used with tatsama, tadbhava as well as foreign words and quite frequent in Oriya e.g. *nūtanatva, hindutva, brāhmaṇatva, musalamāṇatva, yuropīyatva, khrīṣṭiānatva* etc.

(10) *-prāya* and its semitatsama derivatives *-parā, -parāya, -parāye, -prāye* (<OIA *prāyaḥ*) are very common in Oriya. e.g. *pāgaḷa-parā pāgaḷa-parāe, pāgaḷa-prāya* etc.

(11) *-maya* < OIA *maya.* It implies the meaning 'full of' or 'spread with' e.g. *bālimaya, lokamaya* etc.

(12) *-māna* <OIA *māna.* It forms adjectives, e.g. *caḷamāna, bahamāna* etc.

C. FOREIGN SUFFIXES

All the foreign suffixes found in Oriya are Persian suffixes.

(1) *-āna* (= *-wān*) forms agent nouns e.g. *daruān, gāṛuān* etc.

(2) *-ānā,-āni* (= *-anah*) forms abstract nouns. e.g. MP *mālikānā*, Modern Oriya *sāhebi-ānā, bābuāni, sāhebāni* etc.

(3) *-khānā* 'place' (= *xānah*) e.g. *ḍāktarkhānā, baiṭhakkhānā, chāpākhānā, pāikhānā, jelkhānā* etc.

(4) *-khor* 'eater' (= *xōr*) e.g. *nisākhor, gañjā-khor, aphimakhor, gulikhor, ghuskhor, lāñcakhor* etc. (cp *khorāk* 'food').

(5) *-gara* (=*gar*) 'maker'. e.g. *kārigara* (=OIA *kāri* + Persian *-gar*), *saudāgara* ; but in

bājikara (cp Hindi *bājīgar*) *gara* is replaced by *-kara* < OIA *-kara.*

(6) *-giri* 'trade, business', (=Persian *gar-ī*, also *gīr*+nominal *-ī*) e.g. *kārigarī*, *maṣṭaragiri*, *bābugiri*, *kirānīgiri*, *gumāstāgiri* etc.

(7) *-ci*, *cā*. It signifies a diminutive sense. *-ci* is the modification of the Persian *-cah* > *ca* + feminine or diminutive *-ī*, e.g. *ḍekci*, *bagicā* 'small garden', *cāmacā* etc.

(8) *-dān*^{a}, *-dānī* 'receptacle'. e.g. *pikadānī*, *nāsadānī* , *dhūpadānī*, *atar-dān*^{a}, *phula-dānī* etc.

(9) *-dār*^{a} 'holder'. e.g. *caukidār*^{a}, *samajh*^{a}*dār*^{a}, *camak*^{a}*dār*^{a}, *aṁśī-dār*^{a}, *aṁśadār*^{a}, *bhāgīdār*^{a}, *bhāgadār*^{a}, *jamidār*^{a}, *jāgiridār*^{a}, *subādār*^{a}, *dokāndār*^{a}, *paharādār*^{a}, *ṭhikādār*^{a} etc.

(10) *-nabiś*^{a} 'writer' (=*navīs*). e.g. *nakal*^{a}*-nabiś*^{a} 'copyist' (=*naql-navīs*), *śikṣā-nabiś*, 'apprentice'. *nabiśi* is the corresponding abstract noun e.g. *śikṣā-nabiśi*.

(11) *-banda*, *-bandi* 'enclosed'. e.g. *bāksabanda*, *bāksabandi*, *mogalbandi*, *jamān*^{a}*bandi* etc.

(12) *-bāj*^{a} 'one habituated to do a thing'. e.g. *mām*^{a}*lābāj*^{a}, *dhapābāj*^{a}, *dagābāj*^{a}, *dhaṛibāj*^{a} etc. *-bāji* in *dhapābāji* etc. is the abstract formation.

(13) sometimes the Indianised forms of the Persian ones are employed being the cognate with Sanskrit ones. i.e. Persian *-istān* : Skt *-sthāna*, Persian *-mand* : Skt *-mant* e.g. *Hindusthān*^{a}, *Āphgā-*

nisthān, *Turkisthān* etc., *daulatmanta* on the analogy of *śrimanta* etc.

(14) *-nāmā* < Persian '*nāmah*' is attested in the words *śironāmā*, *okālatināmā* etc.

(15) *-pā* < Persian *-pāyān* as in Oriya *śiropā* ; cp MP *śiropā*, *sirupā* 'turban', which shows a contamination of *śiru* / *śiro* < OIA *śiraḥ* with Persian *sar-pāyān*.

PREFIXES

D. Tadbhava & Tatsama Prefixes

The following are the living prefixes in Oriya.

(1) *a-*[1], *aṇa-*, *anā-*, *aṇā-* etc. These express a negative sense.

a[1] < OIA *a-* (e.g. OIA *amṛta*, *agata* etc.) e.g. Insc *akhaṇḍa*, *adoṣa*, *alaṇḍā*, *aśikṣitamāne*, *asad(a) mārge* etc. ; Modern Oriya *alaṇā* 'saltless', *akacā* 'unwashed' and similarly *akāṇḍiā*, *abuddhiā*, *aśuddha*, *adekhā*, *adina* (cp Nandakiśor : *adina barasā*), *abeḷā*, *adhuā*, *akāmi*, *akāraṇa*, *ajaṇā*, *alagā*, *aghari*, *aghāṭa*, *ajāgā*, *aghaṭaṇa*, *abagharā* etc. *a-* is also found in some hybrid words like *ahindu*, *akhusi* (Persian *Xūśi*), *āhisābī* (Perso-Arabic *hisāb* 'accounts') etc.

aṇa- < OIA *an* + *a-* (of the following word) e.g. OIA *an-arcanā* > *anarcanā*, *an-artha* > *anartha*, similarly *anadhikāra*, *anaṅga* etc. Due to the meta-analysis of *anarcanā*, *anartha* etc. the prefix *ana-* is created which has become *aṇa-* in Oriya. This *aṇa-* is extended to other forms and has replaced *una-

< OIA *ūna* in numerals (vide ch V. 29) e.g. Insc *aṇahite*, MP *aṇatirisa* (Modern Oriya *aṇatiriśa*), cp Modern Oriya *aṇahaḷadiā aṇabāhuṛā, aṇasoriṣiā, aṇaleuṭā –aṇaosāriā, aṇaniśvāsī, aṇacāḷiśa, aṇacāśa, aṇaṣaṭhi* etc.

Similarly *anā-* < OIA *an+ā-* of the following words. e.g. OIA *an–āgata*, *an–āsakta* etc. *anā-* (*aṇā-*) is created due to meta-analysis of *an–āgata* etc. and this *anā-* is extended to other words as well. *anā-* (*aṇā-*) is attested in the following illustrations e.g. *anā–sṛṣṭi* (sts), *aṇākāra*, *anābṛṣṭi* (tats), *anābharaṇa*, *anāgata*, *anācāra* etc.

(2) *a-*[2] Intensive> pleonastic. Probably it is a semantic development of the negative prefix *a-* above.→ e.g. *aghoranida* (=*ghoranida*), *abāṛua* (=*bāṛua*) meaning respectively 'deep sleep' and 'virgin'.

(3) *ā-* < OIA *ā-*. It indicates inclusion e.g. Insc *ākosikāra* 'including the treasurer', Modern Oriya *ābāḷabṛddhabanitā* 'including children, oldmen and women', *ābrāhmaṇacāṇḍāḷa* 'including *Brāhmaṇa* and *Cāṇḍāla*' etc.

(4) *ku-* < OIA *ku-*. This prefix indicates something bad. It is very rarely used as a noun. e.g. *ku–kārya*, *ku–prathā*, *kubākya*, *kubyabahāra* etc.

→ This might have been another intensive or pleonastic prefix as well and not a semantic development from the negative prefix *a-*, Recently an intensive IE prefix *a-* has been suggested by Misra (Vide Satya Swarup Miśra : New lights on Indo-European Comparative Grammar 53)

('*ku ebaṁ su*' used as nouns in literary Oriya). There are also some hybrid words like *kunajara* (cp Perso-Arabic *nazr*), *kukhabara* etc. with this prefix *ku–*. But OIA *duṣ–*, *dur–* etc. are not so much frequent in Oriya.

(5) *dara–* 'half' <OIA √*dṛ̥* 'to break', cp MIA *dara* (Pischel) and also cp Late Skt *dara–* as in Jayadeva : *daravidalita* 'slightly opened', *daraślatha* 'slightly loose' etc. This is quite frequent in Oriya e.g. *darakhiā*, *darakhāburā*, *daracobā*, *darasijhā*, *darapācilā*, *darakāñcā*, *daraporā*, *daraāuṭā*, *daraśukhilā* etc.

(6) Privative *ni–*, Semitatsama *nir–* <OIA *niḥ–*, *nir–* respectively e.g. *nikhund*, *nilaja*, *nikhuṇa*, *nirdaya*, *nirbhula*, *niruddeśa*, *niḍara* etc.

(7) *bi–*[1] intensive <OIA *vi–* e.g. *bikaruṇa*, *bikandi* (as in *kandi–bikandi*), *bikhāla* (as in *khāla-bikhāla*), *bi-chāibā* (cp *chāibā*) etc.

bi–[2], *be–* pejorative and privative from OIA *vi–* with contamination of Persian *be–*, e.g. Modern Oriya *bighaṭaṇa*, *bijoṛa*, *bebāgiā*, *bejoṛa*, *beāṛā*, *bekhātir*, *behisāb*, *beimān*, *beṭāim*, *beḍhaṅga*, *bebandobasta*, *beāin* etc.

(8) *sa–* <OIA *sa–* 'along with'. It signifies an intensive sense. e.g. Insc. *sakāḷa*, Modern Oriya *saṭhika* (=*ṭhika*), *sābakāśa* (=*avakāśa*), *sakṣama* (=*kṣama*) etc. From Persian loan *nābāḷak*ᵃ, the word *sābāḷak*ᵃ has been formed with the prefix *sa–*. The instrumental use of *sa–* is found with forms like *sajora*

'with force' (< Persian *zor*) etc. on the model of tatsama *sabaḷa*, *sadaya* etc.

(9) *su–* < OIA *su–*. It is intensive and is used also as a noun, meaning 'something good'. e.g. *suḍola*, *sumana*, *sujana*, *sudina*, *sunāma* etc. There are also some hybrid words like *su-najara*, *su-khabara* etc.

(10) *hā–*. It may be derived from MIA *haa* (< OIA *hata*). This formative is comparatively rare in use and is found with a few words. It indicates absence of something. e.g. *hā-anna*, *hā-hatāśa* etc.

Some independent words like '*bhara*', '*adha*' etc. occur with compounds which are not prefixes at all. e.g. *bhara-sañja*, *adhapeṭa* etc.

E Foreign Prefixes

a. Persian Prefixes

(1) *nā–* 'not' (Persian *nā–*) e.g. *nā-hak* 'without right', similarly *nā-bāḷak*^{a}, *nā-mañjur*^{a}, *nāpa-sand*^{a}, *nāwāras*^{a} etc.

(2) *phi–* (Persian *fī–*) meaning 'each'. e.g. *phighara*, *philoka*, *phijaṇa*, *phiroj*, *phidina* etc.

(3) *bad–* 'evil'. (Persian *bad–*). e.g. *bad-nām*^{a}, *badkharac*^{a}, *badkhiāl*^{a}, *badrāgī*, *bad-hajam*^{a}, *badkhoi* etc.

(4) *be–* 'without' (Persian *be–*) e.g. *be-rasika*, *beḍhaṅga*, *bemurabiā*, *beṭāim* etc.

(5) *har–* 'each' (Persian *har–*). e.g. *hardam, harek rakam, harekmāl* etc.

(6) *bar* as in *bar^{a}khāsta, bar^{a}dāsta* etc.

There are some Persian words like *kam–, sar–* etc. which have not acquired the force of an affix. e.g. *kamjor, sarpañca* (loan from Hindi in the last two or three decades) etc.

b. English Prefixes

(1) The words 'head', 'full', 'half' ete. are used with compounds which have become prefixes. e.g. *heḍpaṇḍita, heḍmoharira, heḍgumāstā, phul-bābu, phulkurutā, hāph-daramā, hāph-chuṭi, hāph-kaceri* etc.

(2) The prefix *–sab* < Eng *sub* is well known but it is found with English loan words only (but not with native words). e.g. *sab-ḍepuṭi, sabḍibhijan, sabjaj* etc.

———

CHAPTER THREE

THE NOMINAL DECLENSION

1. GENDER

The loss of the final consonant in MIA reduced the rich varieties of declensional patterns of OIA. Further more the various types of vowel declensions of OIA were reduced to five only (viz. *-a*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī*, *-u* declensions) in MIA stage. Moreover the declension of the *-a* stem (which was more frequent in the language) influenced the other vowel stems. Finally in the Apabhraṃśa stage there was a tendency to reduce the various inflections under one stem i.e. the masculine *-a* stem. This tendency weakened the distinction of grammatical gender and this might have been responsible for the total loss of grammatical gender in some NIA dialects like Oriya, Bengali and Assamese etc. Chatterji mentions that the influence of some Non-Aryan languages like Kol etc. (which do not distinguish masculine, feminine and neuter by means of affixes) might have been the cause for the loss of the gender distinction in Magadhan speeches. Or the simplification of the gender system might have been a normal and natural development. (vide ODBL 483.)

Just like other Magadhan languages, Oriya shows no grammatical distinction of masculine and feminine as far as the tadbhava forms are concerned

e.g. *sundara jhia, buddhimān chātrī* etc. Literary Oriya however sometimes recognises the grammatical gender with some tatsama or semi-tatsama forms ; e.g. *surūpā aṁśupā* (Rādhānāth : Cilikā), *paramā sundarī, batsa-harā mātā, bhāgyabatī ramaṇī* etc. In such cases the adjectives referring to feminine nouns take the various feminine suffixes like *-ā, -ikā, -ī, -i, -nī, -ni* etc. But in declension there is no distinction between the masculine and feminine nouns. The grammatical gender is preserved more or less in other NIA dialects except the Magadhan languages. In most of the NIA speeches neuter is merged with the masculine. But some of the speeches like Marathi, Gujarati and Sinhalese preserve the neuter gender also. In Hindi the grammatical distinction of masculine and feminine is clearly maintained. Here predicate is put in the feminine gender if it qualifies a feminine noun, e.g. *laṛkī acchī hai*, but *laṛkā acchā hai*. But such distinction of grammatical gender is lost from Magadhan speeches though it is available in the oldest phase of the language. Caryā shows the grammatical distinction of masculine and feminine gender, e.g. Caryā (5) *diṭi* (=*diḍhī* <* *dṛḍhikā*) *tāṅgī* 'strong axe' ; Caryā (10) *tohori kuḍiā* 'your cottage' but *tohara antare* 'for thy sake'. But in Oriya there is no distinction of *tohara* and *tohari* as far as the gender is concerned. The genitive plural affix *-ṅkari* and *-ṅkara* are also used in Oriya inscriptions. But there is no gender distinction. '*duhiṅkari gocare*' in the inscription (Serial No. 11) on the temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar does not

seem to be feminine. Also in Modern Oriya *-ṅkara*, and *-ṅkari* are used without any distinction of gender.

2. NUMBER

Oriya shows four-fold devices to express the plural number : (1) by adding the suffixes (2) by adding the nouns of multitude (3) by adding the nouns of multitude + the plural affix (4) by reduplication af adjectives, nouns and pronouns.

(1) As far as **suffixes** are concerned the original nominative plural suffix is lost in Oriya and the instrumental plural suffix is extended to the nominative. Thus the instrumental plural supplies the plural suffix to the direct case, e.g. direct plural suffix *-e* in *pile*, *puruṣe*, *jaṇe* etc. <OIA Instrumental plural *-ebhiḥ*. Similarly the oblique plural base is supplied by the original genitive plural in Oriya, e.g. *puruṣan-* in *puruṣaṅku* etc. is historically derived from OIA **puruṣasām kr̥ta-* etc. (=*puruṣāṇām kr̥ta-* etc.) > *purusahām̐kua* > *purusām̐kū* > *purusam̐ku* > *puruṣaṅku*. (For the extension of the pronominal genitive ending *-sām* to the noun stem cp Ap *ruccha-ham̐* <**vr̥kṣasām*).

(2) Furthermore the direct plural suffix *-e* (<OIA Inst *-ebhiḥ*) gradually began to be used for the honorific singular. So in order to avoid the confusion between singular and plural numbers the nouns of multitude like *māna*, *gaṇa* etc. were added to the stems to express plural number e.g. *śikṣake paṛhānti*

may mean 'the teacher teaches (honorific singular)' as well as 'the teachers teach (plural)'. Similarly *paṇḍite kahanti* may express both the plural and singular sense. But the expressions with the nouns of multitude like *śikṣakamāne paṛhānti* and *paṇḍita-gaṇa kahanti* etc. exclusively convey the plural sense. This method of expressing plurality through the nouns of multitude is also found in Caryā. But when the noun is qualified by a plural numeral there is no need of adding the noun of multitude. Similar is the case with Modern Oriya. e.g. Caryā (16) : *maṇḍala-saela bhājai* 'All the mandals are broken', Caryā (18) : *bidujaṇa-loa* 'wisemen' etc.; but *beṇi pakha* 'two wings or sides' (Caryā 4) ; *cauṣaṭṭhi pākhuḍī* 'sixty-four petals' (Caryā 10) ; *pañca jana* (Caryā 12) 'five people' etc.; similarly Modern Oriya *bandhu-gaṇa*, *bṛkṣasamūha*, but *cāribandhu*, *ṣaḍabṛkṣa* etc.

The following are the **nouns of multitude** used in Oriya.

(a) The tatsama words like *samasta*, *samūha*, *samāja*, *barga*, *loka*, *caya*, *nicaya*, *jana*, *gaṇa*, *ādi* etc. e.g. *samastaprajā*, *janasamūha*, *nārī-samāja*, *rājanabarga*, *paṇḍitaloka*, *puṣpacaya*, *kaḷikā-nicaya*, *guṇījana*, *puruṣagaṇa*, *puṣpādi* etc.

(b) Semitatsama and tadbhava forms like *māna* (< *mānava*), *sakaḷa* (< *sakala*), *sabu* (< *sarva-*), *kuḷa* (< *kula*), *guṛā* (< *-kula-*), *guṛāka*, *guṛika*, *ẏete*, *ẏeteka* (vide pronoun), *kete*, *keteka* (vide pronoun) e.g. *padārthamāna*, *sakaḷa mānaba*,

sabujhia, arīkuḷa, jinisaguṛā(ka), pilāguṛika, ẏete loka, ẏeteka jiniṣa, kete loka, keteka biṣaya etc.

(c) The Perso-Arabic word *mahal* is sometimes added with the native form in order to express the plural number. e.g. *bandhumahal, okilamahal, śikṣakamahal* etc.

It should be noted that in plural number the case-affixes and post-positions are added after the nouns of multitude are agglutinated.

(3) Sometimes the plural number is expressed by adding the **nouns of multitude** plus the **plural suffix**. e.g. Insc : *nāyakamāne* besides *nāyakamāna*, SD : *putragaṇe* besides *putragaṇa*, BD : *munigaṇe* besides *munigaṇa*, Modern Oriya *paṇḍitasakaḷe* besides *paṇḍitasakaḷa* etc.

In order to form plural number there is the double addition of nouns of multitude in some cases. e.g. SD : *rājāgaṇamāne, samasta rājāmāne, munijanagaṇa* etc.; Modern Oriya : *sabu jhia guṛā, sakaḷa paṇḍitagaṇa* etc.

(4) In some cases plurality is expressed by **reduplication** of the adjectives, nouns and pronouns. e.g. *choṭa choṭa naī, baṛa baṛa pāhāṛa, uñcā uñcā śṛṅga ; ghare ghare, grāme grāme, deśe deśe, nagare nagare ; kehi kehi* (cp Caryā *keho keho tohore viruā bolai*), *ẏāhā ẏāhā* etc..

A special note on *māna.*

The noun of multitude *māna* < OIA *mānava* (like *jana, loka* etc.), as suggested by Chatterji

(ODBL 492) and Sen (Bhāṣār itivṛtta p. 167). *māna* < OIA *māna* 'a quantitity, mass, all' is also suggested by Sen (vide An Etymological Dictionary of Bengali p. 754). But the above derivations (though semantically tenable) are phonetically unsuitable for the fact that OIA single *-n-* > *-ṇ-* in Oriya and *māna* presents a dental *-n-*. *-māna* is used thrice in an Oriya Insc. of AD : 1288 (written in Telugu script and found at Simhacalam in Madras). e.g. Insc : *sukrita-māna* 'good deeds', *nāyaka-māna* 'nayakas', *grāma-mānya* 'villages' : (*māna*<*mānya* ? as the above example shows). In the inscription of the Jaya Vijaya doorway, Jagannāth temple, Puri, the following examples with *-māna* are found. e.g. *e-māna* 'these', *nācaṇī-māna* 'dancing girls', *e-māne* 'these persons' etc. Chatterji in ODBL 492 mentions that in Oriya inscription the form occurs both as *māna* and *māṇa*. But Tripathi in 'The Evolution of Oriya Language and Script' suggests that the correct reading is only *māna* but not *māṇa* (vide p. 131 foot note).

This noun of multitude is also attested in various NIA dialects. e.g. Assamese *māne*, Beng *māne* as in *āmār*ᵃ *vacan*ᵃ *śuna parijan*ᵃ*-māne* (Gopalabijaya by Kabiśekhar : 16th-17th century), Bengali (Midnapur dialect) *-mana*, Bihari (Man-bhum) & W Beng *-mīnā*, Bihari (Chotnagpur) & SW Beng *-man*ᵃ, E.Beng *mān*ᵃ Bihari (Bhojpuriya) *manaī* 'man', cp Caryā (46) *māṇā* 'man' as in *moha-vimukkā jai māṇā* 'when a man is freed from ignorance'.

3. CASE ENDINGS

The history of the Oriya case-endings are given below in singular and plural.

4. SINGULAR

The following are the singular case-endings used in Oriya.

5. Nominative

Oriya uses the following case terminations in nominative singular.

(1) Nil ending ; e.g. Caryā (1) *lui bhaṇai*; Insc: *mahā muni bandhā kalā*; Bhāgabata: *śuka kahanti śuṇa rāye, asura kalā mahābhaye.*

(2) *-e*[1] < OIA *-akaḥ* or OIA Instrumental sg *-ena.* ↑ This affix is frequently found in Old Oriya and is obsolete in Modern Oriya ; e.g. Caryā : *pute,* Insc: *ācāye* (as in *ācāye hoilā, ācāye pāṇī dhilā*) "a name or surname"; SD: *bibare*; Bhāgabata: *kāye, nirdaye* etc. (as in *kampai dĕbakīra kāye, asura, svabhābe nirdaye*) (= Modern Oriya *kāya, nirdaya*) ; cp Maithili : *manaka sādhe* 'mind's desire'.

(3) *-e*[2] plural ending used for honorific singular (< OIA *-e–bhiḥ*) ; e.g. Insc: *Mahāpātre* (*dhile*), *kapiḷes(v)ararājāe* (*dile*) ; MP: *Bāsudeba rathe,*

↑ OIA *-akaḥ* > Mag *age* > Apabh *ai* > Oriya *e*. Similarly OIA *-ena* > Oriya *eṁ* and *e*. Since Oriya past and future verbal forms are historical OIA passive forms, extension of the instrumental ending to the nominative in Oriya is also quite probable.

Hamire, Kapilendra debe; SD: *Brahmāe*; Modern Oriya: *paṇḍite, miśre* etc.

(4) *-i* < Māg *-e* (< OIA *-aḥ*). In Apabhraṃśa stage the Magadhī *-e* (< OIA *-aḥ*) > *-i* and this *-i* is retained in Early and Old Oriya and such *-i* forms are used in Oriya poetry mainly: e.g. Caryā (voc): *kānhi*; SD: *dehi* (= *deha*); BD also *dehi* (as in *dekha cintābhaɪe durbaḷa ie mora dehi*); so also Bh *dehi* (*bhoke kampai āmbha dehi*); similarly also Old and Modern Oriya: *ṭhāiṁ*.

(5) *-u* < MIA *-o* < OIA *-aḥ*. e.g. *Kāhnu* (< OIA *kṛṣṇāḥ*), similarly *Pañcu, Rādhu, Rāju, Naṭu* etc.)

(6) *ā* (< OIA *-akaḥ*). This is very frequent in Old Oriya literature. e.g. Caryā: *magā, hariṇā, birā, hathā*; MP: *chatisā Coragaṅgā*, SD: *bāḷā* 'son', *dulaṇā* 'son', *sabarā, bhīmā* etc.; BD: *tapobantā*; Dinakṛṣṇa: *utsāhā*; Bh: *apuā* (< *apotakaḥ*) (as in *apuā ghare pua jāta, ānanda hoe nanda citta*').

6. Accusative

The accusative singular in Oriya shows the following terminations.

(1) Nil ending; e.g. Caryā (1) *guru* (as in *lui bhaṇai guru pucchia jāṇa*); Insc: *śata deḍha ghetalā, mahāmuni aṅka kalā*; MP: *baṛadeuḷa toḷi..., bāṅki muhāṇa potāile*; SD: *pheṛa mo sandeha, ehā ie na karē*; BD: *prāṇahuṁ adhikakari pāḷili muṁ ehā*; Bh: *adhara cāpi roṣe cāheṁ, kimpā bhauṇi karu nāśa* etc;. cp Ass *moke ibār karuṇā karā* 'show mercy towards me this

time' (vide Kakati: Assamese, Its Formation & Development **661**).

(2) *-e* extended from locative. This is mainly found in Old as well as Modern Oriya poetry and is not attested in early prose; e.g. Caryā: *sahaje thira kari* 'making the Sahaja steady', *Bhāde bhaṇai, abhāge lailā* 'says Bhāda, I have taken bad luck' (ODBL **499**); SD: *byāghre, bhalluke na kara kimpā, tumbhe śaṅkā*; Bh: *kṛṣṇa caraṇe citta khedi, asura kalā mahā-bhaye. yādava asuraṅka ḍare, palāi gale deśāntare* etc; cp Maithili: *sunaha, sundari! Bidyāpati-bacana sāre* 'hear, O fair one, the precious words of Bidyāpati'; cp also Assamese: *āpuni sakale jānā* 'yourself know all'.

(3) *-ku* (< OIA *-kṛta-* > *-kua* > *-ku*). This is not attested in Caryā. In inscription also *-ku* is very rare. But in Modern Oriya *-ku* is very frequent. e.g. Insc: *pāikarāutaku kari*; MP: *guriāṭhāku, kaṇārka deuḷaku, koṛa puaku*; Bh: *Basudebaku, Nandaku*; Modern Oriya: *Rāmaku jhiaku, puaku* etc.

-ki is a variant of *-ku*. Generally *-ki* is found instead of *-ku* with *-i* stems. e.g. *Rāmaku* but *Hariki* (besides *Hariku*), similarly Insc: *amṛta-maṇahiki (bhi)-āilā* (AD 1263); SD: *Bṛndā-batīki*, BD: *asurīki*, Modern Oriya: *āiki, bhāiki, nānīki, duḥkhiki, bhikhārīki khuṛiki* etc.

Strangely enough in Old Telugu the acc-dat morpheme is *-ku* / *-ki*, e.g. *anna-ku* 'to the elder brother', *kayaku* 'to the fruit', *puliki* 'to the tiger', *vāni-ki* 'to him' etc.; cp Tamil *-kku*, e.g. *eṉa-a-kku*

'to me', *pulikku* 'to the tiger' etc. The influence of this Dravidian ending might have been responsible for the stability of Oriya *-ku* / *-ki*.

(4) *-ṅku* / *-ṅki* are originally plural though they are used as honorific singular. (History is discussed in plural). e.g. MP : *Puruṣottama debaṅku*, *rājāṅku*; SD: *muniṅku*, *muniṅki*, *Śāntanuṅku*, *Satyabatīṅki* ; Modern Oriya : *śikṣakaṅku*, *bāpāṅku* etc.

7. Instrumental

The following case endings and post positions are used in instrumental.

(1) *-e* / *-eṁ* < OIA *-ena*. This instrumental ending though attested in early prose is very frequent in Old as well as Modern Oriya poetry ; e.g. Caryā: *ḍare*, *akilese*, *nāveṁ*, *begeṁ* ; Insc : *duggābhaṭe* 'by Durgābhaṭa', *pramāṇe lāgi karāile* 'according to prescription' ; MP : *upāe* (*e rājā upāe cakrabartī mahānāṭaka soḷaka kale*) ; SD : *tose tote bara dele prabhu debarāja*, *se parbata cūra helā bhīma gadāghāe* ; BD : *saurabhe*, *atibege* ; Bh : *biṣe duṣita pūrṇa nīra*, *ānande bāhāsphoṭa māri*; cp Bihari (Maithili) *neneṁ* 'by a child' : cp also Hindi *dhīre calo*.

Also *ena* / *-eṇa* (Sanskritism) < OIA *-ena*. It is rarely found in inscription and MP, but in old poetry like SD and BD etc. it is very frequent. e.g. Insc : *padmanidirupeṇa* (= *padmanidhi-*), MP : *kopeṇa*, SD : *saṁgrāmeṇa*, *bhayeṇa*, *begeṇa* ; BD : *sahiteṇa*, *birahabhareṇa*, *heḷeṇa*, *kṣameṇa* etc. Bh : *asura sva-*

bhābeṇa, *putanā nāmeṇa* etc.; cp Awadhi *ḍaren* 'through fear'.

(2) *-re* < OIA *-kara-ena*. This instrumental ending is frequent in Old and Modern Oriya. e.g. Insc : *ekasvarare* 'with one voice' ; MP : *caracāre*, *pāṣāṇare* as in *dharamu haricandana mahāpātraṅka caracāre baṛadeuḷa cūna kale,......bhoga maṇḍapa pāṣāṇare kale*; SD: *dantare*, *ānamatare* etc. as in *dāntare tiraṇa gheni sarba dvijabare, ānamatare badha ẏe nohi thāntā jarā*; BD : *kapaṭare āṇanti se munimana mohi*; Bh : *nāgare bandhana śarīra* etc.

(3) *-dei*. This is a participial post-position < the nonfinite verb *dei* < Oriya √*de* < OIA √*dā*; cp Beng post-positions *diām̐*, *diā*, *die*; e.g. Caryā: *diām̐ cañcāli*; MP : *dvāra dei*, *garuṛaṅka āga dei*; Modern Oriya : *Rāmadei*, *gharasāmanādei* ; cp MB *hāth diā*, New Bengali : *hāt die*, E Beng *daridiā bāniā* 'having tied with a rope', Beng (Chittagong) *putardi* 'with the son', Ass *hātedi* 'with the hand', *bāṭedi* 'by the way' etc. Though in old literature *dei* (as in *mana dei*, *arghya dei* etc.) expresses a participial sense it contains the seed of instrumentality. Thus gradually *dei* developed an instrumental implication.

(4) *dvārā* < OIA *dvārā* (instrumental of *dvār-*). This is frequently used in Oriya prose. It is not traceable in Caryā. In Early texts its use is not frequent. In modern prose as well as in spoken dialects it is used quite frequently. e.g. Modern Oriya *Rāma śaradvārā Rābaṇaku badha kale*, *tā dvārā kichi kāma hebani* etc; cp Beng *mānuṣ-dvārā*, *mānuṣer dvārā* etc.

8. Dative

The following dative endings are attested in Oriya.

(1) *-ka* (<OIA *-kr̥ta-* > *-kaa* > *-ka*). It is found only in Caryā stage. After Caryā period it is not attested in Oriya ; e.g. Caryā : *nāśa-ka* 'for destruction' ; *-ka* is actually a genitive ending which is used for dative in Caryā. This genitive-dative *-ka* is found in Middle Beng (ŚKK). It is also retained in North Bengali dialect as well as in Assamese ; e.g. ŚKK *ghara-ka* mana *nā jāe* 'mind does not turn to home' ; Assamese : *Kr̥ṣṇara pāsaka lāgi* 'for Kr̥ṣṇa's side', *jātanāka lāgi* 'for the purpose of punishment' (*-ka* functions here as genitive) ; cp also Maithili genitive *manaka sādhe* 'mind's desire'. Such use of genitive for dative has already been started from OIA stage.

(2) *-ku* <OIA *-kr̥ta* (*-kr̥ta* > *kua* > *ku*). e.g. Caryā : *damakuṁ* ; Insc : *debarathā cāryaku* (AD 1256), *jāgaraku* 'for the jāgara festival' etc. The variant *-ki* occurs after *-i* stems. e.g. Insc : *Tapa-cakraba(r)tīki*, *Sūrāsāniki* (?) *bhāta* (AD 1307), *māsiki*, *-dipaduiki* ; Modern Oriya : *pilāku*, *jhiaṭi-ku* ; but also *jhiaṭiki*, *khuṛiki* etc. with *-ki*.

(3) *-kai* (<OIA *-kr̥ta* + locative *-e* > *-kaa* + *-e* > *kae* > *kai* / *kai̯* also *ke*). It is not attested in Caryā. But it is attested in Inscription along with its extended form *-kaika*. e.g. Insc : *Viṣṇukai̯*, *bhaṁge-kai̯* (=*bhogakai̯* ?) 'for offering', *bhāṁḍārakkai̯*, *bhāṁḍārakai̯* 'for or to the treasury', *triṁsa bāṭikai̯* 'to thirty vatis of land', *Praharājakaika debā* etc.

(4) *-ke* is rarely attested in Caryā (for history vide *-kai* above) e.g. *bāhabake pāraa* 'able to oar'. *-ke* is also used in an inscription of 1051 AD only once and it is not available in other stages of Oriya.

It may be noted that the plural endings *-ṅku*, *-ṅkai*, *-ṅke* are also used in honorific singular ; e.g, *poteśvarabhaṭaṅku, Pramesvara(ṅ)ku dhīlu, Acāyaṅkai bandhā kalā, Utres(v)ara Nāekaṅke dei* etc.

(5) *-e* (History same as accusative *-e*). e.g. Bh : *jība māranti ātma sukhe, yādaba asuraṅka ḍare, palāigale deśāntare etc.*

9. Ablative

The following ablative endings are attested in Oriya.

(1) *-e/-eṁ* <Inst–Loc *e/eṁ*. This ending is used in Caryā. But this is found neither in Old Oriya (like Insc, MP) nor in middle or modern Oriya stage ; e.g. Caryā : *kule kula buṛai* (=*bulai or bhramati*) 'He wonders from bank to bank', *kule kula mā hoi re mūṛhā ujubāṭa saṁsārā* 'O foolish one! Do not wonder from bank to bank for the world is a straight way', similarly *daśabara raaṇa haria daśadiseṁ* 'collecting ten best jewels from ten directions', *jāme kāma ki kāṁme jāma* 'Action from birth or birth from action' ; cp also Oriya locative *grāme grāme* which contains a slight ablative sense i.e. *se grāme grāme ghuri buluchi* (*grāme grāme*=*grāmaru grāma*).

(2) *-u/-uṁ* < OIA *-a* (of the stem) + *taḥ* > *-a-do* > *-a-o* > *-au* > *-o* > *-u*. This *-u* is added with genitive *-ra* as well as with genitive *-ha* (< OIA **sa* < IE *-so*) to form ablative endings *-ru* and *-hu-/huṁ* respectively. *-u/uṁ* is not attested in Caryā. But in other phases of Oriya it is very popular as an ablative ending. e.g. Insc: *bāḷakāḷu, deuḷu*; MP: *garbhu, tahiṁ sakāsuṁ, e śakāśuṁ, daṇḍapātuṁ, nagaru*; SD: *kāḷabhayuṁ, mahāmantru, nirañjanu*; BD: *gharu, āju, deśuṁ, nabaruṁ* Bh: *bandigharu, caraṇu, tuṇḍu, bhabajaḷu* etc. So also Modern Oriya: *gharu, deśu* etc.

(3) *-ṭhauṁ, -ṭho, -ṭhu, ṭhuṁ* < *-ṭhā* + *u*. (*ṭhā* < OIA *sthā*). It is used in Oriya prose literature as well as in colloquial speech of Modern Oriya; *-ṭho* is very rare and is attested in inscription only; e.g. Insc: *brāmbhaṇadārikāṭho*; Modern Oriya: *rāmaṭhuṁ śāma bayasare baṛa, gaṅgāṭhu godābarī paryyanta tāhāṅkara rājya, tāṅka gharaṭhauṁ muṁ āsili* etc.

(4) *-ru* (Insc *-ru* / *-ruṁ*) < genitive *-ra* + *u* (above). It is not attested in Caryā. But in all other stages of Oriya the *-ru* ending in ablative is very much frequent. e.g. Insc: *k(u)ṁḍaru* (1330 AD) 'from the tub', *-desaru* (1458 AD) 'from the country', *bhiāru* 'from the income,' *kauḍīruṁ* 'from the money', similarly MP: *hātharu, ādyaru, śasyādi nohibāru*; SD: *nirguṇaru, tahiṁru, śakatiru, tejaru, pabanaru, śūnyaru, ādyaru*; BD: *prabhātaru, prāṇaru* (*adhika*); Bh: *cakṣuru* (*bahe aśi ujaḷa*), *rātraru* (*tejile se śayyā*) etc.

The extension *-ṭhā-ru* < *-ṭhā* (< OIA√*sthā*) + *ru* (above.) It is not attested in Caryā. But in

Old Oriya literature it is used very frequently; Insc: *Saṁjhadhupa sarilāṭhāru* (1499 AD); MP: *mekā-paṭhāru, gaṅgāṭhāru* (*gautamī paryyanta*), *e rājā-ṅkaṭhāru dharma buṛilā, Ẏitu Siṅghaṭhāru*; Bh: *jagata tohaṭhāru jāta* etc.

(5) *hu* / *-huṁ* < Apabhraṃśa *-hu* / *-huṁ* < *-ha* (gen) + *-u* (abl). (*-ha* gen < OIA **sa* as in Oriya *moha, toha*, cp Avahaṭṭha *juaiha* < **yuvatīsa*, Mg *kāmāha* etc). This is found in all stages of Oriya; e.g. Apabhraṃśa: *rucchahu*, Caryā: *raaṇahuṁ, khepahuṁ*, Insc: *Gītī* (=*Gīta*) *gobindahuṁ āna* 'other than the Gitagobinda'; MP: *āgahuṁ*, (with pron) *tahuṁ* (*tahuṁ biṣṇu ananta sejjāre soile*); SD: *śāstrahuṁ, puruṣahuṁ*; BD: *prāṇahuṁ adhika*, (with pronoun) *tahuṁ, ẏahuṁ*; Bh: *puṣpahuṁ*, (with pro-noun) *kāhuṁ* (*apūrba kāhuṁ e ailā*). Apabhraṃśa ablative *-hu* as in *rucchahu* etc. < OIA *-sas* (after *manasaḥ*) i.e. *rucchahu* < OIA **vṛkṣasaḥ* (vide Sen: A Comparative Grammar of MIA p. 77)

10. Genitive

The following are the genitive endings in Oriya.

(1) *-sa* / *-śa* < OIA *-sya*, cp Pkt *janassa, aggi-ssa* (< OIA *janasya* and **agnisya* respectively). This ending is merely inscriptional and it is attested neither in Caryā nor in literary Oriya. It occurs five times in Oriya inscription (four times in the inscription of 1056 AD); e.g. Insc: *Polākhisa Yuṛujamasa* 'of Polakhi & Yurujama', *Narasiṅghad(e)baśa* 'of Nara-singhadeba' etc.

(2) *-ko*. It is found in inscription only. Its origin is same as the *-ka* genitive in Caryā i.e. inscription *-ko*, Caryā *-ka* (< OIA *-kṛta*). The *-ko* genitive occurs four times in an inscription of 1403 AD ; e.g. Insc : *Byāsa-Upādhyāko paṇati / Biṣṇudāsa-Upā-(dhyā)ko nāti*, etc. cp Caryā : *chāndaka* 'of the desire', *karaṇaka* 'of the sense organ' ; Maithili *manaka* 'of the mind' etc.

(3) *-ra* < OIA *-kara*. e.g. Caryā : *pāṭera* 'of the efficiency', *hariṇāra* 'of the deer', *hariṇira* 'of the doe', *joira* 'of the ascetic' etc. Caryā shows the genitive ending *-ri* (*-ra* + *-i*) in feminine (because in Caryā genitive contained an adjectival force) e.g. *hāṛeri* (*mālī*), *mahāmuderi* (*kaṅkhā*) etc. But in Old and Middle Oriya literature like SD, BD, Bh, etc. *-ri* is used in genitive with pronouns only side by side with *-ra*. But it has lost the feminine force after Caryā period (due to the loss of gender distinction after Caryā period). The following illustrations show the genitive ending *-ra* / *-ri* ; e.g. Insc : *Sidhesvaramaḍhara* or *-maṭhara* (1256 AD), *sunāra kaḷaṁttara* (1288 AD), *dinara ghīu* 'a day's ghee', *chāmura, simāra* ; MP : *brāhmaṇara* (*brāhmaṇara sāpe takṣaka daṁśilā*), *ẏibāra nāhiṁ*, (with pronoun) *mohara*; SD : *Añjana deśara, śūnyara* ; BD : (with pronouns) *toṛhara, mohara, tumbhara, ehāṅkari* (honorific singular), *saburi*, & *sabuṅkari* (plural) ; Bh : *sūryyara* (*tahuṁ*), *kṛṣṇara, Debakīra* ; Modern Oriya : *chuāra, ghaṛara, gāṁra* ; (with pronouns) *mohara* besides *mohari*, similarly *tohara, tohari, tāhāra, tāhāri* etc.

(4) *-ṅka / -ṅkara / -ṅkari.* These are actually plural endings which are used in honorific singular (for history vide genitive plural). e.g. Insc: *Srī kurmmanāthadevaṁka, rājāṅka, Narasiṅghadebaṅkara, mahārājāṅkara data*; MP: *bāpāṅka* (*chaḷe*); SD: *Yudhiṣṭhiṅkara*; BD: *Jagannāthaṅka ājñā, Śrīrāmaṅkara māe*; Bh: *Byāsaṅka. nandana*, (with pronoun) *ehāṅkari* etc.

11. Locative

The following are the locative endings attested in Oriya.

(1) *-e* <OIA *-aka* + *-e.* (very often *-e* is coalesced with *-a* stem). It is very frequent in poetry as well as in early prose; e.g. Caryā: *cie, ghare, jale, rathe, mahāsuhe*, (*=sukhe*), *paribāre*; Insc: *bāṅkiāe* 'on the throne', *rabibāre, samaṁdhe*; MP: *kṛttibāse* (*tapa kale*), *yājapura-kaṭake*, (with pronoun) *epāśe, pāraṅga daṇḍapāṭe, hāṇḍi goṭike, baraṣae*; SD: *rājye, parbate,kṣaṇake*; BD: *śikhare, sarbāṅge, aṅge, śire, gaganamaṇḍaḷe*; Bh: *pāye, kṣatriyabaṁśe, jaḷe, karṇe* etc. Modern Oriya (poetry): *jaḷe, sthaḷe, ghare, bane* etc.

The extension *-ena* < *-e* (locative) + *na* (pleonastic) also occurs in Oriya poetry; e.g. SD: *nagareṇa, grāmeṇa*; Bh: *kaṇdheṇa* (*hemapabitra kandheṇa*); Sālabega: *jaḷeṇa* (*thāi ghora jaḷeṇa*) etc.

Caryā *-eṁ*, Insc *-eṁ* <OIA *-ena* (or from Oriya locative influenced by instrumental *-eṁ*); e.g. Caryā: *ghareṁ, hieṁ, galeṁ, mājheṁ, nābeṁ, kuleṁ*; Insc: *ṣanmukheṁ, gocareṁ, rājyeṁ* etc.

(2) *-re* <genitive *-ra* + locative *-e*. It is attested throughout all the stages of Oriya and is very frequent in Modern Oriya. But in inscription *-e* is more extensively used than *-re*. e.g. Caryā: *pañcabiṣayare nāyaka*; (cp Modern Oriya *sabubiṣayare paṭu*), *cāndare cāndakānti jima parihasaa*; Insc: *chāmure, hāthare, manare*; MP: *Oṛisāre, bārire, bāṭare, cuṛaṅga sāhire, sejjāre*; SD: *beḷābanare, antarikṣare*; BD: *lalāṭare*; *bhubanare*, (with pronoun) *tahiṁre*; Bh: *kṛṣṇare* (*aparādha kalā*), *pādapadmare, svāmīsebāre, bāmakarare* etc.

Locative *-re* > *-ra* often in poetry. e.g Bh: *tesana hoi bedabara, rahile gobinda chāmura*; Modern Oriya: *bāpa bhāta khāuci patarara, pua chara hauci kacerira* etc.

It should be noted that in 'Old Bengali Language and Texts' T. Mukherji explains Caryā *pañcabiṣayare* as a genitive form. Moreover Caryā: *cāndare* is explained by Sen as locative in Bhāṣāra itibṛtta and as genitive in Caryāgītipadābali. But the above two forms are actually locative in sense.

(3) *-i* <OIA locative singular *-e* (cp OIA *bālake*), e.g. Caryā: *niaḍi* (<OIA *nikaṭe*), *divasai, ākāśai*; Insc: *bhaṇḍārai* 'in store house', *māsi* 'per month' etc. But Insc: *hāṭharai* (1256 AD) may be a variant of *hāthare*.

(4) *-ṭhi* and *-ṭhāre* are frequent in Modern Oriya. But they are not attested in Caryā and very rarely used in inscription. *-ṭhi* / *-ṭhā* (<OIA *sthā-*) +

locative *-i* (< OIA *-e*) and *-ṭhāre* < *-ṭhā* + locative *-re*; e.g. Insc: *sabuṭhi* (Text *sabuṭi*); MP: (with pronouns) *seṭhāre, kauṁṭhāre*; Bh: (with pronoun) *eṭhāre*; Modern Oriya: *gharaṭhi, gāṁṭhāre*, (with pronouns) *ịeuṁṭhi, sehiṭhāre* etc.

(5) *-ta, -te*. It is attested in Caryā. But it is not found in inscription. Literary Oriya shows *-te* and *-ta* (rare). *-te* < *ta* (< OIA *-tra* > MIA *-tta* > NIA *-ta*; cp Aśokan Kalsi : *tata*, Girnar : *tata*=**tatta* < OIA *tatra*) + locative *-e*. Similarly *-ta* < OIA *-tra* as above. e.g. Caryā : *gaaṇata, duārata, hāḍita, bāṭata, taraṅgate*; SD : *nagrate, purate*; *agrata*; Bh : *purate* ; cp Beng *nadīte, bāṛite* etc.

It is noteworthy that Sen in Bhāṣāra itibṛtta and Chatterji in ODBL derive *-te* < *-antaḥ* and Chatterji derives *-ta* < *-antahi* < OIA *antaḥ* + *dhi* (vide Bhāṣāra itibṛtta pp. 172-173 and ODBL pp. 750-751). But loss of *-n-* is phonologically untenable as far as Oriya is concerned.

(6) Bare stems are also used in locative. e.g. Caryā : *aṅgaṇa gharapaṇa* 'the domestic affair (is) on the courtyard' (2), *nalinibana paisi* 'having entered into the lotus forest' (9), *gaaṇa samāa* 'enters into the sky' (43), *gagaṇagaṅgā gai paiṭhā* 'enters into gaganagaṅgā' (16); MP : *jaḷa dasadisa ghoṭai*; SD : *banasta bhitara*; BD: *sva icchāre bijaya dakṣiṇa sindhutīra, caukati bahai cāturī cāri-nadī*; Bh : *khaṭanti gobinda payara*.

12. PLURAL

Oriya uses the singular endings in plural. In Caryā there is no distinction of singular and plural in declension. Similar is the case throughout the other stages of Oriya. Though the plural inflection follows the singular endings it presents some striking peculiarities. Besides there are also a few special endings which are exclusively used in plural and in Origin also they are derived from OIA plural endings.

A. Singular endings used in plural.

Very often singular endings are used in plural without any formal distinction. In such cases singular and plural are to be distinguished merely on the basis of the context;

e.g. Caryā : *eka se śuṇḍinī* (singular), *batisa joiṇī* (plural) (27), *keṛuāla nāhi* (singular) (8), *pañca keṛuāla* (plural), similarly also *tiṇi bhuaṇa*; Insc : *bhumī dilā* (singular), *padmanidhi dilā* (singular), *delā cheḷi śata* (plural), *pāikarāutaku kari* (singular), *bhiāilā cāri nirmālyāku* (plural) etc. ; MP : *ananta sejjāre* (singular), *cāri ẏugare* (plural), *sahasra gaṇḍāre* (plural), *e rājā...sarpa jajña kale* (singular), *gāe cha rājā bhogakale* (plural), *rājāra* (singular), *patimāna-ṅka-ra* (plural) ; SD : *tini nadī* (plural), *drupadara* (singular), *koṭipuruṣara* (plural) ; BD : *ṣaṛa māsa* (plural), *koṭi namaskāra* (plural), *tini sandhyāre* (plural), *pañca mane* (plural); Bh: *śakaṭe nānā drabya* (Acc. plural) *bhari*, *cintai prabhu narahari* (Acc singular), *maribe sabu śiśu pua* (plural), *cha putra kaṁsa kalā nāśa* (plural).

B. Special characteristics of plural-inflection

The following special features of plural declension may be noted.

(1) The words of multitude like *loka* and *sakaḷa* (in Caryā used twice or thrice e.g. *bidujanaloa, tāntidvanisaela* etc.), *māna, gaṇa, guṛā, guṛi, sabu, ādi, kuḷa* etc. are added with the singular stem ot form the direct plural stem e.g. *pilā* (singular stem) but *pilā-māna-* (plural stem), similarly *goru* (singular stem), *goruguṛi, goruguṛā* (plural stem).

(2) *-ṅka* (<OIA genitive plural ending *-nām+kṛta*) is added with the direct plural stem to form oblique plural stem, e.g. *pilā-māna-* (direct plural stem) + *ṅka=pilā-māna-ṅka* (oblique plural stem to which the inflections are added). But *-ṅka* is not used with inanimate objects and sometimes also with lower creatures, e.g. *pilā-māna-ṅka-ṭhāru, pilā-māna-ṅka-ra, pilā-māna-ṅka-ṭhāre* etc. *goru-goṛā-ra, jiniṣa-guṛā-pāiṁ* etc.

Very often *-ṅka* is added with the singular stem to form the oblique plural stem. e.g. *pilā* (singular stem) +*ṅka=pilāṅka* (plural stem). In the oldest phase of the language this system was prolific. At that time the use of the words of multitude was very scarce. In Caryā the words of multitude are attested twice or thrice. Gradually when the honorific singular forms were used extensively the words of multitude started to be used in a large scale to keep distinct the plural inflection.

(3) Generally the plural forms are used for honorific singular. But it is noteworthy that the plural forms with the words of multitude are never used in honorific singular. e.g. *muniṅkara*, *rājāṅkaṭhāre* etc. are plural forms used in honorific singular. But *munimānaṅkara*, *rājāgaṇaṅkaṭhāre* are plural forms which are never used as honorific singular.

(4) The accusative plural form -*ṅku* might have been formed due to the contamination of *ṅka* + (singular) *ku* i.e. *pilāmānaṅku* < *pilāmānaṅka* + (singular) *ku*.

(5) Rarely the case endings or post-positions are added to direct plural stem. e.g. *rājāgaṇara*, *munigaṇadvārā*, *arikuḷaṭhāru* etc.

(6) If some other word expresses plurality there is no need of a word of multitude or of oblique -*ṅka* to express plural inflection. e.g. *duipilā ṭhāru*, *pāñca bohuṭhāre*, *sabu jiniṣara*, *aneka kathāre* etc.

(7) Accusative -*nta*, -*nti* and the genitive -*ṅka* when added to the singular direct stem express plurality. e.g. SD : *putranta*, *badhunta*, *muniṅka* etc.

C. Special endings used in plural (sometimes also in honorific singular). The following special endings of plural may be noted.

(1) Nominative : -*e*. Though it is similar in form with nominative singular -*e* the history of its origin is different. Plural -*e* < instrumental plural -*ebhiḥ* (singular -*e* < OIA -*akaḥ* or instrumental

singular *-ena*) e.g. Insc: *ete loka prabeśa kale*; MP: *mugale, sebake, baudhe*; SD: *debe, gaganarājane* (honorific singular); BD: *debagaṇe, asure*; Bh: *pāṇḍabe, poe, debarāye* etc.

(2) Accusative: *-ṅku, -ṅki* and *-nta, -nti*. These endings are also used in honorific (singular); *-ṅku* < *ṅka* + (singular) *-ku, -ṅki* < *-ṅka* + (singular) *-ki*; e.g. Insc: *sāntamānaṅku* (*posi āṇili*); MP: *brāhmaṇamānaṅku, khandāitaṅku, diaṅku, parmesaraṅku, deamānaṅku*; SD: *agastiṅki* (honorific singular), *ẏajātiṅki* (honorific singular), *navakanyāṅku digapāḷamānaṅku*; BD: *duṣṭajanamānaṅku, muniṅki, tiniṅki,* (with pronoun) *āmaṅku, āmbhaṅku*; Bh *rāmaṅku* (honorific singular), *brahmāṅku* (honorific singular), *gopīṅku, hariṅki* (honorific singular); Modern Oriya: *rājāṅku* (plural & honorific singular), *maṇiṣamānaṅku* (plural), *Draupadīṅki* (honorific singular), *khuṛiṅki* (honorific singular), *duhiṅki, tinhiṅki* etc. *-nta* < *-antikam* (*-a* due to the influence of *-anta* (< OIA *antaḥ*), *manta, banta* etc; e.g. SD: *rājāmānanta, basananta, putrañta, tāhānta, badhunta, pāñcanta, lokanta*; BD: *debatānta, asuranta, drabyanta* etc. *-nti* < *-antikam*; e.g. Insc: *samastanti* (*thoi dele*); SD: *duhinti, sabunti*; BD: also *sabunti* etc.

(3) Dative: Same as accusative. The additional form of dative is *-ṅkai* which is found in iscription only; e.g. Insc: *Acāyaṅkai bandhā kalā*.

(4) Genitive-*ṅka* (< *-nām-kṛta*). It is also used for honorific singular, e.g. M.P.: *mahārājā-*

ṅka, bimaḷāṅka, bhubanesaraṅka, brāhmaṇamāna-ṅka; SD : *puruṣaṅka, debatāṅka, paraśurāmaṅka;* BD : *muniṅka, ṛṣiṅka; ehāṅka,* Bh : *asuraṅka, kumāraṅka,* (with pronoun) *yāhāṅka* etc; Modern Oriya: *muni-ṅka, duhiṅka, rājāṅka, jhiaṅka* etc.

D. A special note on the accusative plural suffix -nta -nti.

The accusative plural suffix *-nti* is also attested in inscription e.g. Insc: *samastanti thoi dele.* But there is no trace of *-nta* in the inscriptional language. Thus it seems that the formation of *-nti* is earlier than *-nta.* *-nti* may be derived from OIA *-antikam* and later on *-nti* might have become *-nta* due to the influence of forms like *-anta* (<OIA *antaḥ*), *manta, banta* etc. The use of *-nti* is quite rare in SD, whereas the forms with *-nta* are used more frequently. In BD *-nta* is still less frequent than SD. *-nta* is also used as honorific singular. e.g. SD: *duhinti, duhinta* (with numerals) *sabunti* (with pronouns), *ehānta* (honorific singular), *pāñcanta, yogāṛamānanta, bhāinta, rājāmānanta, lokanta, badhunta, pāpanta, basananta*; BD: *debatānta, asuranta, drabyanta, puṣpanta, caudanta* (with numerals,) *śrīphaḷanta, debanta, tapīnta, sabunti* etc.

E. The following **declensional table** clearly illustrates the case terminations of Oriya.

		Singular	Plural
Nom (-Voc)		*pilā*	*tini nadī*
		ācāye (Insc), *kāye* (Bh)	*pile*
		dehi(=*deha*) (SD, BD, Bh)	
	Hon:	*paṇḍite*	*pilā-māne/-guṛā(ka)/-guṛi(ka)*
Acc		*bhāta, padma*	*daśa muṇḍa*
		pilā-ku	*cāri nrimālya-ku* (Insc)
			pilā-ṅku, pilā-māna-ṅku,
			pilā-guṛā-ṅku/-guṛi-ṅku
		āī-ki	*muni-ṅki*
		byāghre, bhalluke (poetry)	*paṇḍite*
	Hon:	*paṇḍita-ṅku*	
		khuṛiṅki	
		tapī-nta (SD)	*debatā-nta* (SD, BD)
Inst		*pilā-dvārā/-dei*	*pilā-ṅka-dvārā/-dei*
			pilā-māna-ṅka-dvārā/-dei
			pilā-guṛā-ṅka-dvārā/-dei
		upāe (MP), *toṣe* (SD)	*pilā-guṛi-ṅka-dvārā/-dei*
		saṃgrāme-ṇa	
		hāta-re	*dui hāta-re, dānta-re*
	Hon:	*paṇḍita-ṅka-dvārā/-dei*	

Dat		*nāśa-ka* 'for destruction' (Caryā)	
		pilā-ku	*pilā-ṅku, pilā-māna-ṅku*
			pilā-guṛā-ṅku/-guṛi-ṅku
		viṣṇu-kai (Insc)	
		praharāja-kaika (Insc)	
	Hon:	*paṇḍita-ṅku*	
		acāya-ṅkai (Insc)	
		nāeka-ṅke (Insc)	
Abl		*kule* (Caryā),	
		cp Modern Oriya *grāme grāme*	
		pilā-ṭhāru/-ṭhu/-ṭhū̃	*pilā-ṅka-ṭhāru/-ṭhu/-ṭhū̃*
			pilā-māna-ṅka-ṭhāru/-ṭhu/-ṭhū̃
			pilā-guṛā-ṅka-ṭhāru/-ṭhu/-ṭhū̃
		brāmbhaṇadārikā-ṭho (Insc)	*pilā-guṛi-ṅka-ṭhāru/-ṭhu/-ṭhū̃*
		grāma-ru	*dui pāda-ru*
		deuḷu, garbhū̃ (poetry)	
		āga-hū̃, beḷa-hū̃ (poetry)	
	Hon:	*paṇḍita-ṅka-ṭhārū̃/-ṭhu/-ṭhū̃*	
Gen		*pilā-ra*	*pilā-ṅka-ra*
			pilā-māna-ṅka-ra
			pilā-guṛā-ṅka-ra/-guṛi-ṅka-ra
		polākhi-sa (Insc)	
		byāsa upādhyā-ko (Insc)	
	Hon:	*paṇḍita-ṅka, paṇḍita-ṅka-ra*	

Loc	*pilā-ṭhāre/-ṭhi*	*pilā-ṅka-ṭhāre/-ṭhi*
		pilā-mānа-ṅka-ṭhāre/-ṭhi
		pilā-guṛā-ṅka-ṭhāre/-ṭhi
		pilā-guṛi-ṅka-ṭhāre/ṭhi
	rājy	
	nagareṇa (SD), *jaḷeṇa* (Sālabega)	
	hāta-re	*dui hāta-re*
	chāmura (Bh)	
	bhaṇḍāra-i (Insc),	
	māsi (Insc)	
	pura-te (Bh)	
	agra-ta (SD)	
	dasadisa (MP), *bhitara* (SD),	
	sindhutīra (BD)	
Hon:	*paṇḍita-ṅka-ṭhāre/-ṭhi*	

3. Post-Positions

The following are some of the post-positional words used in Oriya :-

(1) *chaṛā* 'except' <Oriya√ *chāṛ* <OIA√*chr̥d*/*chard* e.g. *mo chaṛā samaste yāithile.*

(2) *nimitta* tts, *nimite, nimitye* 'for' < OIA *nimitta*, but *nimante* 'for' (hyper-Sanskritism) e.g. *Rāma Sītāṅka nimitta svarṇa mr̥ga āharaṇa karibāku gale.*

(3) *pāiṁ* 'for' < OIA *pātena* cp *anupāta*, e.g. *mo pāiṁ tāṅka yibā helāni.*

(4) *binā* tts 'without' < OIA *vinā*, e.g. *pustaka binā bidyābhyāsa kaṣṭakara*; cp Caryā: *binu* as in *joini taiṁ binu khanahiṁ na jibami.* 'O female sage ! I do not live even a while without you'. Bh: *to binu āna gati nāhiṁ.*

(5) *byatīta* tts 'except' <OIA *vyatīta*; e.g. *Rāma byatīta Śyāmara āu kehi baṛa bandhu nāhiṁ.*

(6) *apekṣā* tts 'than', e.g. *dhana apekṣā bidyā mūlyabān.*

(7) *tahuṁ* 'from' <*ta* (pronominal)+*huṁ* (Abl); e.g. SD: *chanda tahuṁ utapatti helā karma jāṇa.*

(8) *prati* tts 'towards', e.g. *tāṅka prati bhala byabahāra karibā ucita.*

(9) *sahita* tts 'with', e.g. *Sītāṅka sahita Rāma baṇaku gale.*

(10) *saha* tts 'with', e.g. *tāṅka saha mora bibāda nāhiṁ*, cp Caryā *saa* as in '*haṣai śānti saa āpaṇakarī sakhī*'.

(11) *abadhi* tts 'since' < OIA *avadhi*, e.g. *mum̐ pāñcadina abadhi kāmaṭi karuchi.*

(12) *pariyyanta* tts 'up to' < OIA *paryanta*, e.g. *se kaṭaka pariyyanta yibe.*

(13) *bābada* (< Persian) 'towards (expenditure)', e.g. *mum̐ bhoji karibā bābadaku śahe ṭaṅkā dei thili.*

(14) *mārphat*ᵃ (< Persian) 'through', e.g. *rāmabābuṅka mārphat*ᵃ*e reḍioṭā kiṇili.*

(15) *tulya* tts 'like' e.g. *se bātuḷa tulya praḷāpa kale.*

(16) *tule* 'with' < OIA *tulya*, e.g. SD: *raivata parbate thile baḷarāma tule.*

(17) *pari* 'like' < Vd *upara–* 'approximate', 'nearer', 'later', cp Skt *upamā* 'Comparison' < *upa–ma* 'nearest', e.g. *se pilāṭi tāṅka pua pari diśuchi.*

(18) *dvārā* tts 'by' < Inst of OIA *dvār–* 'door', e.g. *tāṅka dvārā e kāryyaṭi heba.*

(19) *karttr̥ka* tts 'by', e.g. *e pustakaṭi Gopabandhuṅka karttr̥ka praṇīta.*

(20) *dei* 'by' : This is a participial post–position < the nonfinite verb *dei* < Oriya √ *de* 'to give' < OIA √ *dā* 'to give', e.g. *to dei kichi hebani.*

(21) *āga* 'in front' < OIA *agra–* 'in front', e.g. MP: *Bimbaḷāiṅka āge, ṭokāṅka āgare,* Modern Oriya: *tā āgare* etc. cp Caryā: *age* as in *age nāba na bhelā dīsaa.*

(22) *kari* 'by' <√*kar* 'to do', e.g. Insc: *maharā kari* 'by position'.

(23) *pākhe* 'by the side' <OIA *pakṣa*–, e.g. SD: *puṇihiṁ tora pākhaku bahana āsibi.* Modern Oriya: *tume ehāṅka pākhe basa*, cp Caryā (46) *pākhe* as in '*biṇi pākheṁ.*'

(24) *kāraṇa* tts 'cause' e.g. *tui sabu aṇarthara kāraṇa.*

(25) *ṭhāiṁ* 'on, in' <OIA *sthāna*–, e.g. *putraṅka ṭhāiṁ krodha nāhiṁ.*

(26) *upare* 'on' semi-tts, cp Skt *upari*; e.g. *gacha upare kāu basichi.*

(27) *taḷe* 'under' < OIA *tala*– e.g. *khaṭa taḷe mūṣā achi.*

(28) *pache* 'afterwards' <OIA *paścāt*–, e.g. *Rāma pache Śāma galā.*

(29) *pāśe* 'near' <OIA *pārśva*-, e.g. *nr̥patiṅka pāśe svarṇa chati śobhā pāuachi.*

(30) *bāhāre* 'out side' <OIA *bahiḥ*; e.g. MP: *ṭokāṅka bāhāre anya loka ẏibāra nāhiṁ*; Modern Oriya: *iā bāhāre tāṅkara anya kichi kāma nāhiṁ.*

(31) *bhitare* 'within' <OIA *abhyantara*; e.g. *se ghara bhitare achi.*

(32) *bihine* 'except' <OIA *vihīna;* e.g. *jaḷa bihīne jenhe mīna...* Also Oriya *bihune* 'except' (by dissimilation).

(33) *madhye* tts 'in the midst', locative <OIA *madhya*; e.g. *banamadhye prabāhita svaccha srotasvinī.*

(34) *lāgi* 'for the sake of' < OIA *lagna-*, e.g. *mo lāgi bahi khaṇḍe āṇibe.*

(35) *sāṅge* 'along with' is the instrumental of tts *sāṅga*, e.g. MP: *ṭokāṅka sāṅgare*, Modern Oriya: *tāṅka sāṅge, tāṅka sāṅgare*; cp Caryā: *sāṅge* as in *dujjaṇa sāṅge abasāri jāi.*

(36) *sāthe* 'with' < OIA *sārtha-*, e.g. *muni sāthe calile ye raghukuḷamaṇi.*

(37) *suddhā* 'even' < OIA *śuddha* 'pure', e.g. *mora suddhā padyaṭi mukhastha hoini.*

(38) *hele* < Oriya √ *ho* < OIA √ *bhū* + √ *as* (vide ODBL **767**, p. 1038) e.g. *tāra hele ṭikie dayā huantā.*

(39) *anusāre* 'in accordance with' Inst < OIA *anusāra-*; e.g. *se mo upadeśa anusāre kāma kale.*

(40) *anuyāyī* 'according to' < OIA *anu* + √ *yā* 'to follow' e.g. *samājara rīti anuyāyī āmaku caḷibāku heba.*

(41) *bhinna* tts 'different', e.g. *to nīti ṭhāru bhinna mo nīti.*

(42) *biṣaya* 'about', 'matter' tts; e.g. *tāṅka yibā biṣayare mora kichi kahibāra nāhiṁ.*

(43) *kathā* tts 'matter' e.g. *mo yiba kathā se kahu thile.*

(44) *artha* 'for the sake' tts e.g. *pitṛ arthe tejile se rājasiṅghāsana.*

(45) *āṛa* 'towards' < OIA *ārdra* or *taṭa* (vide ch IV. **12** for details of the etymology) e.g. *muṁ kāli mandira āṛe yāi thili.*

(46) *badaḷa* 'in exchange of' (< Persian); e.g. *dhāna badaḷare se biri dele.*

(47) *bāde* 'after' (< Persian); e.g. *tini ghaṇṭā bāde se āsibe.*

(48) *nei* 'taking' participial post-position < Oriya √*ne* < OIA √*nī*; e.g. *tāṅku nei muṁ aṛuāre paṛichi.*

(49) *uttāru, uttāre* 'after' < OIA *uttara/uttāra*; e.g. MP: *dina pandara uttāru, e uttāru Mattabhānudebe rājā hele, e uttāre......, kete dina uttāru...* etc.

(50) *pare* 'after' < (Vd) *upara* 'later, nearer'; e.g. *skul chuṭi hebā pare se āsibe, tā pare muṁ yibi.*

(51) *byatireka* tts 'without' < OIA *vyatireka-*, e.g. *pabana byatireke bañcibā asambhaba*; cp also tadbhava *bitarake* 'without' < OIA *vyatireka.*

(52) *mūḷe* 'under the care of' < OIA *mūla*; e.g. Insc: *nāeka mūḷe*, MP: *ṭokā mūḷe* etc. But it is obsolete in Modern Oriya.

(53) *hāta* 'by' < OIA *hasta-* 'hand'; e.g. *tāṅka hātare ciṭhi paṭhāi thili.*

(54) *nikaṭa* tts 'near'; e.g. *muṁ tāṅka nikaṭa kalamaṭi paṭhāi thili*; cp Caryā (32) *niaṛi* (=*nikaṭe*) as in '*niaṛi bohi mā jāhu re lāṅka.*

(55) *prati* tts 'against, to'; e.g. *tāṅka prati mora kauṇasi ākrośa nāhiṁ.*

(56) *mukha* tts 'mouth'; e.g. *lokamukhare e kathā pracaḷita.*

(57) *sannidhāna* tts 'near'; e.g. *gurusannidhāne se bidyābhyāsa kale.*

(58) *samīpa* tts 'near', e.g. *nadī samīpare oka baṭa vṛkṣa daṇḍāyamāna.*

(59) *kati* 'near' < OIA *kṛtya-*, cp OIA *nikaṭa* (<**nikṛta*) 'near'; e.g. Bh: *kṛśna kati;* Modern Oriya: *tāṅka kati.*

(60) *chaḷe* 'for the sake of' < OIA *chala*; e.g. MP: *pitāṅka chaḷe sarpa jajña kale.*

(61) *sakāśa* 'due to' < OIA *saṁkāśa-*/ **sakāśa-*; e.g. *ei sakāśu te galāni, to sakāśu mum̐ hairāṇa heli.*

(62) *diga* 'towards' < OIA *dik*, cp Beng *dika-*; e.g. MP: *Raghubhañja... ẏe bhitaradige...thile...*

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRONOMINAL DECLENSION

1. THE FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN

Singular

The paradigm of the first personal pronoun shows only two distinct forms in singular. They are the direct form *muṁiṁ/muṁ*, and the oblique base *mo-* to which different case affixes are added.

The direct form *muṁiṁ/muṁ* <OIA instrumental singular **mayena* > *maena* > *maeaṁ* > *maeṁ* > *maiṁ* and on the analogy of *tu/tui* *maiṁ* > *muiṁ*, and *muiṁ* > *muṁ* by shortening or due to the influence of *tu*. cp Pkt: *mae* (<OIA *mayā*); Ap: *maiṁ*; Caryā: (16, 18) *mai*, (10,13) *ma* (*mai*, *ma* instrumental in Caryā); Insc: *muiṁ*; Old & Middle Oriya: *muiṁ*, *muṁ*; Modern Oriya: *muṁ*; Bengali: *muiṁ* (archaic); Ass: *mai*, Bihari: *meṁ* (obsolete); Hindi and Panj: *maiṁ*; Guj *meṁ*; Sindhi *mnṁ* etc.

The oblique base *mo-/ma-* and **the extension** *moha* have the following history. The oblique base *mo-* is derived from OIA genitive singular *mama* (through *mavṁa*), or OIA *mama* > *mo* due to the influence of *to* from OIA genitive singular *tava* of the second person. cp Caryā: *mo* (as in genitive *mo*, *mora*, *mohora* *mori* and instrumental *moe* etc.); Insc: *mo-* (as in *mohora*, *mote* etc.); Old Oriya: *mo-*; Modern Oriya:

mo-. The dialectal oblique base *ma-* is also derived from *mama* >*maa* >*ma*; cp Caryā: *ma* 'by me', *makuṁ* 'mine'; Oriya (dialectal): *mate* 'to me'; *mara* 'mine', *maṭhāre* 'in me', *maṭhāru* 'from me'; cp also Assamese *ma-* (dialectal). The extended oblique base *mo-ha-* is formed following the oblique forms of the other pronouns (like *tāhā-*, *ýāhā-*, *ẹhā-*, etc. from **tāha-* etc.), and the old genitive of the nouns (cp. Ava: *juaiha*; Mg: *kāmāha* <OIA **-sa*); e.g. Caryā (20) *mohora*, (35) *mohakakhu;* Old and Modern Oriya: *mohora*, *mohoṭhāru* etc. cp Early Ass oblique base *moho*.

Plural

The only base of first person plural in both direct and oblique case is *āmbha-*/*āma-* < OIA *asma-* (OIA *asma-* > *amha-* >*āma-* and *asma* >*amha* >*amᵇha* >*āmbha* on the analogy of *-āma*). Nominative plural *āmbhe*/*āme* is derived < *āmbha-*/*āma-* + nominative plural *-e* (< OIA *-ebhiḥ*). Similarly different case-affixes are added to the plural base *āmbha-*/*āma-* to indicate different case-relations. e.g. *āma-*/*āmha-dvārā* (instrumental), *āma-*/*āmbha-ṭhāru* (ablative) etc. cp Caryā (nom sg<hon sg< plural): *āmhe*, *ahme*, *ambhe*; Insc: (nominative) *āmbhe*, (genitive) *āmbha*, *āmbhah* †, *āmbhara*; cp Bengali

† A doubtful hapax. Tripathi gives *āmbhaḥ* in text (p 311 and word index) and *āmbhah* in grammar (p 158) which may be a misprint. The genuine form may be *āmbhaha* with the gen. *-ha* (< OIA **sa*) as in Apabhraṁśa. The form *āmbhah* or *āmbhaḥ* whatever be the correct reading may be a scribal error.

(nom sg) *āmi* 'I', Ass (nom pl) *āmi* 'we' etc. Double as well as triple plural forms (i.e. the forms with nouns of multitude like Oriya *āmbhe-māne, āmbhe-māne-sabu*, besides *āmbhe*; and *ambhamānaṅku* besides *āmbhaṅku* etc.) also occur in Oriya just like its sister speeches Bengali, Assamese, Magahi, Maithili and Bhojpuria etc. cp Oriya *āmbhe-māne, āme-māne-sabu* (triple plural), Beng *āmᵃrā*, Ass *āmālokᵃ*, Magahi *ham-anī, ham-ar-nī* (the triple plural form), Maithili *hamᵃsabhᵃ, hamrā-sabhᵃ* (triple plural), Bhojpuria *hamanī-kā, ham-aranᵃ* (triple plural) etc.

A declensional table of the first personal pronoun is given below.

	Singular	Plural
Nom	*mum̐, mum̐im̐, mum̐him̐* (glidic *h*)	*āme, āmbhe, āme-/āmbhe-māne, āme-/āmbhe-māne-sabu*
Acc-Dat	*mo-te, ma-te* Old & Middle Oriya *mu-ku*	*āmaku, āmbha-ṅku, āmbha-māna-ṅku*, Old & Middle Oriya *āmbha-nta*
Inst	*mo-/ma-/moha-dvārā, mo-/ma-/moha-dei*	*āma-/āmbha-dvārā, āma-/āmbha-dei, āma-/ āmbha-mānaṅka- dvārā/-dei*
Abl	*mo-/ma-/moha-ṭhāru*	*āma-āmbha-ṭhāru, āma-/āmbha-mānaṅka-ṭhāru*
Gen	*mo-/ma-/moha-ra ma/ma/moha*	*āma-/āmbha-ra, āma-/āmbha-mānaṅka, āma-/āmbha- mānaṅkara*
Loc	*mo-/ma-/moha ṭhāre*	*āma-/āmbha-ṭhāre, āma-/āmbha-mānaṅka-ṭhāre*

It should be noted that the accusative singular form *mote* is derived < *mo+te=ta* post-position+ *-e* (locative) cp ŚKK (instrumental) *hātheta* 'with the hand' and late NB (nominative) *ghoṛāte* (as in *ghoṛāte ghās*^{a} *khāy*^{a} 'horse eats gross') etc. (similarly also *tote=to+te*).

2. SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN

Singular

Two forms are distinctly found in the paradigm of the singular second personal pronoun. They are the direct form *tu/tui* and the oblique base *to-*. **The direct second person singular** form *tu/tui* have the following history. The direct second person singular form *tu* is derived < OIA *tvam* (*tvam* > *tuam* > *tuaṁ* > *tūṁ* > *tū* > *tu*); cp Caryā: *tu* e.g. *tu lo ḍombī hāuṁ kapālī*, Insc: *tu*, *tuṁ*; Old, Middle & Modern Oriya: *tu*, Beng: *tu* (dialectal); Early Maithili and Eastern and Western Hindi: *tū*, Marathi *tūṁ*, Gujarati *tuṁ*, Rajasthani *tūṁ*, Panjabi and Sindhi *tūṁ*. Moreover *tui* is derived from OIA **tvayena* > **ttaeaṁ* > *taeṁ* > *taī* > *tai*, and *tai* > *tui* through the contamination of *tu* + *tai*. (According to Chatterji *tai* > *tui* due to the influence of oblique *to-*, vide ODBL **548**, p. 817); cp Caryā *tai* (Inst and Nom.) 'by you, you', Old Oriya and dialectal Modern Oriya *tui*, Beng *tui*, Assamese *tai* etc. **The oblique second person singular base** *to-* is derived < OIA genitive singular *tava*; cp Caryā: to (gen, acc-dat) as in *to muha* (4) 'thy face', *to puchami* (10) 'I ask thee'; *toe* (instru-

mental) as in '*toe sama*' (10) 'with thee', *tore* (dat) (18) 'to thee', Old, Middle and Modern Oriya : *to-*, (as in *tora*, *tote*, *to-ṭhāre* etc.), Beng *to-*, Ass *to-* etc. It should be noted that the derivation of *-te* of the acc-dat form *tote* is same as that of the first personal acc-dat form *mote*. Furthermore the origin of the extended oblique base toha- is same as the first personal oblique base *moha-* (vide first personal pronoun). cp Caryā: genitive *tohara/-ri*, Inst *tohare/-reṁ*; Insc : genitive *toho*, *tohora*, Old and Modern Oriya *tohora*, *tohari*, *tohaṭhāre*, E Ass *toho-* etc.

Plural

The only base for both direct and oblique case in second person plural is *tumbha/tuma*. *tumbha/tuma* <OIA **tuṣma-*> *tumha* > *tumbha* > *tumbha-/tuma-*. Nominative *tumbhe/tume* is derived < *tumbha/tuma* + *e* (< OIA *-ebhiḥ*). Similarly different case-affixes are added with the plural oblique case *tumbha-/tuma-* (e.g. *tumbhara*, *tumaku* etc. cp also Caryā : *tumhe jāiba* (inst). Double affixation of plural suffixes are also found in case of plural of the second personal pronoun. e.g. *tume-/tumbhe-māne* besides *tume/tumbhe*; *tuma-/tumbha-mānankaṭhāru* besides *tuma-/tumbha-ṭhāru* etc.

A declensional table of the second personal pronoun is illustrated blow.

	Singular	Plural
Nom :	*tu*, *tui*, *tuhi* (*-h-* glidic)	*tume*, *tumbhe*, *tume-māne*, *tumbhe-māne*

Acc-Dat : *-to-te*	*tuma-ku, tumbha-ṅku tuma-māna-ṅku, tumbha-māna-ṅku*
Inst : *to-/toha–dvārā, to-/toha–dei*	*tuma-/tumbha-dvārā/-dei tuma-/tumbha-māna-ṅka–-dvārā/-dei*
Abl : *to-/toha–ṭhāru*	*tuma-/tumbha-ṭhāru tuma- /tumbha -māna-ṅka-ṭhāru*
Gen : *to-/toha–ra, to/toha*	*tuma-/umbha-ra, tuma–/tumbha–mānaṅka, tuma-/tumbha-māna-ṅkara*
Loc : *to-/toha–ṭhāre*	*tuma-/tumbha-ṭhāre, tuma-/tumbha-māna-ṅka-ṭhāre.*

It should be noted that the plural forms of both the first and the second personal pronouns without the nouns of multitude are used as honorific singular.

3. THE THIRD PERSONAL PRONOUN

Singular

se (*sei, sehi*), *sie, tā, tāhā* are the four distinct forms occuring in the paradigm of singular third personal pronoun. *se* (*sei, sehi*), *sie* are the direct forms and *tā, tāhā* are the oblique forms. *se* is derived < OIA **sakaḥ*, cp YV *yakaḥ*, also cp OIA **ahakam* for *aham*. (OIA **sakaḥ* > *sage* > *sae* > *sai* > *se*). Another alternative explanation is *se* < OIA *saḥ* > Pkt *se* Apa *si* > Oriya *se* due to the influence of instrumental **teṁ* (cp Apabhraṃśa instrumental singular *teṁ* < OIA inst sg *tena*). The alternative extended forms *sei* and

sehi also occur in Oriya (*–i* and *–hi* in *sei* and *sehi* might have been emphatic particles added to the pronoun *se*; Or they have developed due to the influence of *mum̐ mum̐/him̐* & *tui/tuhi* of the first & second personal pronouns). Another alternative form of the direct singular is *sie* which may be derived < OIA **sikaḥ*, cp Vd *sīm.* also cp OIA neuter base *ki–*. (**sikaḥ* > *sige* > *sie*). e.g. Caryā : *se* 'he', Insc : *se*, *sa* (*sa* < OIA *saḥ*, once in inscription), *sehi*; Old, Middle and Modern Oriya : *se*, Beng, Bihari *se*, Assamese *si* (< OIA *saḥ*). *se* is also found as *he* in dialectal Oriya e.g. Oriya dialectal: *heṭā=seṭā*, cp E Beng *he*. Moreover *tā*, *tāhā* are the oblique forms to which the case affixes are added (e.g. *tāku*, *tāhāra*, *tāhā–ṭhāru* etc). *tā–* is derived < **taka–* > *taa–* > *tā* ; e.g. Oriya : Accusative singular *tāku*, *tā–dvārā*, *tāra* etc. *tā* without case affixes is also used as acc sg in Caryā: e.g. *tā dekhi* (7), *tā śuni* (16) and in inscription e.g. *tā*. Similar use is also found in Modern Oriya. Moreover *tā* is genitival in Caryā and so also in subsequent stages in oriya. cp Assamese oblique base *tā*, Bengali oblique base *tā*. *tāhā* is an extended form of *tā*. *tāhā* is derived from *tā* (above) + *ha* (genitive) + *ā* (pleonastic). Sen derives *tāhā* < **tāsaka* (vide An Etymological Dictionary of Bengali, p. 400); cp Caryā: (29) *tāhera*; Insc (Acc) *tāhāku*, (Gen) *tāhāra*, Old, Middle and Modern Oriya *tāhāṭhāru*, *tāhāku* etc. *tāhā* without the case affix is used as accusative singular in inscription just like the unextended form *tā*. cp Assamese exetended oblique base *tāhā–* as in *tāhāṅka*, *tāhānta* etc.

Plural

In order to form the plural base of the third personal pronoun the noun of multitude *māna* is added to the direct singular base of third personal pronoun. e.g. *se+māna> semāna*. *semāna* is used in direct case with the addition of the plural affix *-e* (i.e. *semāne* is the direct form). *semāna* and oblique singular base *tā/tāhā* form the oblique plural base of the third personal pronoun to which the case endings and post-positions are added. e.g. Acc *se-māna-ṅku, tāṅku, tāhāṅku*, (SD) *tāhānta*; Inst: *se-māna-ṅka-dvārā, tāṅka dvārā/dei, tāhāṅkadvārā/dei* etc.

A declensional table of the third personal pronoun is given below.

Singular	Plural
Nom: *se, sei, sehi*	*se-māne*
Acc–Dat: *tā-ku, tāhā-ku*	*tā-ṅku, tāhā-ṅku, semāna-ṅku*
Inst: *tā-dvārā/-dei, tāhā-dvārā/-dei*	*tāṅka-dvārā/-dei, tāhā-ṅka-dvārā/-dei, se-māna-ṅka-dvārā/-dei*
Abl: *tā–ṭhāru, tāhā–ṭhāru*	*tā-ṅka-ṭhāru, tāhā-ṅka-ṭhāru, se-māna-ṅka-ṭhāru*
Gen: *tā-ra, tāhā-ra tā, tāhā*	*tā-ṅka-ra, tāhā-ṅka-ra se-māna-ṅka-ra, tāṅka, tāhāṅka*
Loc: *tā-ṭhāre, tāhā-ṭhāre*	*tā-ṅka-ṭhāre, tāhā-ṅka-ṭhāre, se-māna-ṅka-ṭhāre*

It is noteworthy that the plural forms of the third personal pronoun without the nouns of multitude are used as honorific singular just like the other personal pronouns.

The third personal pronoun and the other pronouns such as demonstrative, relative, interrogative etc. differ from the first and the second personal pronouns in the use of *-ṅka* (which is derived from OIA *-nām kṛta*). The first and second persons donot use *ṅka* with honorific singular forms, e.g. *āma-/āmbha- dvārā*, *tuma- / tumbha-dvārā*; but the third personal pronoun and the other pronouns use *ṅka* with honorific singular e.g. *tāṅka dvārā*, *tāhāṅka dvārā*, *ẏāhāṅka dvārā* etc. This is so because the plural formation in case of the third pronoun etc. is mostly akin to that of the nouns.

4. NEAR DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

The following are the demonstrative pronouns in Oriya: (1) *e* (*ie*), (2) *ehi* (*ei*), (3) *ehā* (dialectal *ihā*, *iā*), (4) *eha* & (5)*ehu*.

(1) The direct form *e* is derived < OIA *etat* (OIA *etat* > *eta* > *eda* > *ea* > *ẽ* > *e*). *e* is attested from early Oriya stage upto the Modern Oriya stage. e.g. Caryā (6) *e bana chāṛi*; Insc: *e*, MP : *e ghaṭaṇā-beḷe*, *e uttāru*; SD: *e ādi-carita* etc. cp Beng *e* as in ŚKK *e-si* 'this', Ass (masc) *i*. The alternative form of *e* is *ie* < OIA **ikaḥ*. The corresponding oblique

base of *e* and *ie* is *iā*- (<OIA **ika*-), *iyā*-/*yā*.† e.g. Insc: *yāku*; MP: *yāṅka*; Modern Oriya: *iāra*, *iyāṭhāre*, *yāku*, *yādvārā* etc. The plural base is formed by adding the nouns of multitude to the singular base and the various case-endings and post-positions are added to this base in order to show the various case-relations; e.g. Insc: (nom) *emāne*; Modern Oriya: (nom) *emāne*, (acc) *e-māna-ṅku*; (gen) *e-māna-ṅkara*, (acc-dat) *emānaṅku*, & (acc inanimate) *emāna*; cp Beng (Caitanya Bhāgabata): *egulā*, *erā cāri* etc.

(2) *ehi* (< OIA *eṣaḥ*) / *ei* used in nominative only (used both in singular and plural irrespective of gender) e.g. singular: *ehi loka*, *ehi kalama*, and plural *ehi lokamāne*, *ehi kalamaguṛika*. Sen derives *ehi* < **eṣika*; (vide An Etymological Dictionary of Bengali p. 101). e.g. Insc: *ehi*, *yehi* (singular); MP: *āmbha bāpaajā kahanti diabara ehi*, *ehi anukuḷe*, *ehi rājā*, *ehi dine*; SD: *ehi sinā bhiāile* etc. cp Beng *ei*, *ehi* (ŚKK *ei*,*ehita*). *ehi* is not attested in Caryā. The plural forms *ehimāne*, *ehiguṛika* are also used in Oriya. The oblique singular base is *ehā*- and the oblique plural base is *ehimāna*-/ *ehā*; e.g. acc sg: *ehāku*, acc pl: *ehimānaṅku* etc., acc pl and hon sg *ehāṅku*.

(3) *ehā* (variant *ihā*, dialectal) < OIA **eṣaka*-. (OIA **eṣaka*- >**esaga*- >**ehaga* >*ehaa* >*ehā*). cp Vd *sakā* feminine diminutive (Macdonell **402 A**). Direct singular *ehā* is used in neuter only. But oblique

† Initially Oriya almost always shows *i*- instead of *y*-(p. 10). But only in case of this pronoun Oriya shows initial *y*- which is of course a shortening of *ia*-.

singular *ehā-* ise used for all genders. Its corresponding plural base both in direct and oblique case is *ehi-*; e.g. direct singular : *ehā goṭie gacha*; direct plural *ehiguṛika gacha;* oblique singular : *ehāku* (neuter, non-honorific), *ehāṅku* (honorific), *ehāṭhāru* (neuter and non-honorific), *ehāṅkaṭhāru* (honorific); oblique plural : *ehimānaṅku* (honorific), *ehiguṛiku* (neuter & non-honorific plural), *ehimānaṅkara* (honorific pl), *ehiguṛikara* (neuter & non-honorific plural). *ehā* is not attested in Caryā. But it is very frequent from Old Oriya stage upto the Modern Oriya stage. e.g. Insc : (acc sg) *ehā*; MP (acc sg) *ehā dekhi*, (gen pl) *ehāṅka gotra bachasa*, (dat-acc sg); *ehāku*, (honorific singular) *ehāṅku*, (abl) *ehāṅkaṭhāru* ; SD: (acc sg) *ehā tadanta kariṇa kahidia mote*, (abl sg) *ehātahuṁ*, (gen sg) *ehāṅkara* etc.

(4) *eha* < OIA *eṣaḥ* is attested only in Caryā stage. e.g. Caryā (43) *eha sahāva* 'this nature.'

(5) *ehu* is derived < OIA *eṣaḥ* > **eso* > **eho* > *ehu*. *ehu* is attested in Caryā (26). It is mainly used in Oriya poetry. e.g. Caryā (26) *ja ehu juati* 'what such reason (is)'; SD : *ehu*. cp Beng *eho* as in Caitanya Bhāgabata *ehobār* (*a*) 'this time'; cp also Ava *ehau* (<*eṣakaḥ >*esako >*esao >*ehao >ehau).

5. Far Demonstrative Pronoun

The third personal pronoun *se* (*sei*, *sehi*) and *tāhā* are used as far demonstrative pronouns in Oriya. The direct and oblique bases in both singular and

plural numbers are formed just like the third personal pronoun. The following illustrations show the demonstrative use of the third personal pronoun *se*. e.g. Caryā: *se* as in *eka se śuṇḍinini*[3]; *taba se mūṣā uñcala pāñcala* (21); MP: *se* as in *tahiṁ sakāsuṁ se kathā praghaṭa helā, e se khiri majhiru hātha puroi khāilā beḷaku hātha porilā, se rājā*; SD: *se* as in *hastā nakṣatra se dina puṇi kanyā rāśi*; cp E Bengali dialectal *se* (But Standard Bengali *o*). The demonstrative pronoun *tāhā* (for History see third personal pronoun) is the direct singular form used for neuter only. The corresponding oblique base is also *tāhā-/tā-*. The plural base both in direct and oblique case is *se-guṛā-* (only the base is used in direct case). e.g. Caryā: *tā suni-* 'hearing that' (16), *tā dekhi* 'seeing that' (7), *tāhera* (29); MP: *chaa ratha heu ṭhilā, tāhā rājā nai potāi tini ratha karāile*; *tāhā cāri-pākhe beṛhā kale*. SD: *kṛpācāryya tāhā gheni aile bahana, droṇa ghenile tāhāku toṣakari mana*. cp Beng *tāhār*ᵃ (singular), *segulike* (plural), East Beng dialectal *tār*ᵃ.

6. RELATIVE PRONOUN

ye, yeuṁ, you, jau (cp Caryā *jo*, Ava *jau*) and *yā/yāhā* are the relative pronouns in Oriya. *ye, jo* (Caryā 7, 14 etc), *jau* (Ava, MP) are derived from OIA *yakaḥ* (OIA *yakaḥ* > *jage* > *jae* > *jai* > *je* and OIA *yakaḥ* also > *jago* > *jao* > *jau* > *jo*). And the *-u* forms like *yeuṁ* (=*jeuṁ*), *you* (=*jou*) might have been created by the analogy of *jau* (cp Ava *jau*, MP *jau*). Old Oriya *ou* also tended to be *eu* in Middle

and Modern Oriya cp SD *hou* = Middle and Modern Oriya *heu*, which might have been responsible in changing *ẏou* to *ẏeu* and *ẏou* might have been the earlier form.

ẏe, *ẏeuṁ*, *ẏou* are the direct singular forms which are used for both the animate and inanimate objects e.g. *ẏe/ẏeuṁ/ẏou pilā/gacha* etc. These three forms of direct singular are also used in direct plural by adding the nouns of multitude e.g. *ẏe/ẏeuṁ/ẏou–māne /guṛā* etc.

The oblique singular base is *ẏā/ẏāhā* (history just like *tā/tāhā*). And the oblique plural bases are *ẏe/ ẏou/ẏeuṁ -māna–*; *ẏe/ẏou/ẏeuṁ –guṛā* and *ẏāhā*. The first and third forms of oblique plural are generally used with the animate objects where as the second form is used with the inanimate objects and also with lower creatures. Some illustrations of the relative pronouns are cited below. e.g. Caryā nom sg/pl *ẏe*; acc *ẏā*; Inst *ẏeṁ/ẏeṁna*, gen *ẏā/ẏāhera*; Insc nom sg *je*; dat acc sg *jāhāku* (refers to persons); gen *jāhāra*; MP nom: *ẏe rājā, Mukunda Śrīcandana ẏe Kaṭaka jagiā hoithile se Māṇikaṇḍi Śrīnabara ābori rahile, dakṣiṇe thile ẏe Danāi Bidyādhara...tāhāku samarpile, Raghu-bhañja...ẏe bhitaradige...thile*; gen : *ẏāhāra*, SD nom sg/pl *ẏe*; acc sg *ẏā*, *ẏāhā*, *ẏāhāku*, gen sg *ẏāra*, *ẏāhāra*, nom pl *ẏeuṁmāne*, abl pl *ẏeuṁmānaṅkaṭhāru* etc.

7. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

ke*, *kie*, *ki*, *kou*, *keuṁ*, *kāhā*, *kaaṇa*, *kisa*, *kāhiṁ*, *keį etc. are the interrogative pronouns used in

Oriya. *ke* (< OIA **kakaḥ*), *kie* (<OIA **kikaḥ* or < *ki+ke*), *ki* (<OIA *kim*), *kou* (<OIA *kopi* > *koi* > *kou* by vowel harmony, cp Caryā *koi* (42, 43), Hindi *koi*); *keuṁ* (< *ke+kou* or Old Oriya *ou* > Middle and Modern Oriya *eu*, is a tendency in Oriya which might have been the reason of changing *kou* > *keuṁ*, and *kou* might have been the earlier form) are used in direct singular. Moreover *keuṁ*, *kou* with the nouns of multitude are used in direct plural. The oblique singular forms are *kāhā* (like *tāhā*), *keuṁ*, *kou* whereas the oblique plural base is *keuṁ–mānal –guṛā and kāhā*. The interrogative pronoun *kaaṇa* 'what' is derived <OIA **kaḥpanaḥ* (=*kaḥ punaḥ*) > *kavaṇa* (cp also Oriya *kebaṇa* < **kaḥ panaḥ*) > *kaaṇa*; cp Pali and Aśokan *pana* (=OIA *punaḥ*). Oriya *kisa* is derived from < OIA **kisya* (=*kasya*), cp OIA neuter base *ki*–, Pali *kissa*, Mag *kiśśa*, cp also Pali Loc *kismiṁ*, *kimhi* beside *kasmiṁ*, *kamhi* (vide ODBL 584), Assamese neuter *kiha* (< OIA **kisa*), NB *kisa*–(oblique of *ki*), etc. The pronoun *kāhiṁ* (*kāiṁ*) is derived < OIA **kādhim*; cp MIA *kahiṁ*, Caryā (7, 31, 49) *kahiṁ* <OIA **kadhim*, cp Beng *kai* 'where'; but Caryā *kāhi* (43) (= Oriya *kāhiṁ*) <OIA **kādhim*. Oriya *kei* (as in *keiṭā*) is derived < OIA *kati* > *kai* > *kei* by vowel assimilation; cp NB *kay/ka*. Some illustrations of the use of the interrogative pronouns in the old texts are cited below. e.g. Caryā (8) :*keṛuāla nāhi keṁ ki bāhabake pāraa*; Insc : no instance of interrogative pronoun; MP : *jau phaḷa upujāi se phaḷa khāi ki na khāi* ; SD : *e patra goṭi mathāre lāgile ki heba.*

7

8. INDEFINITE PRONOUN

The relative pronoun *je* (=*ye*) is used as indefinite pronoun in the inscription and so also in other stages of Oriya. The declensional forms of the indefinite pronoun *je/ye* is just like the relative *je/ye* e.g. Insc. sg. forms : Nom je, D-Acc *jāhāku*, Gen *jāhāra*. (These forms are also attested in other stages of Oriya). Direct *kehi* < *ke* (above) + *h* (glidic) + *-i* (emphatic); (cp Caryā (18) *keho* and Beng *keu/keha*) and oblique *kāhā-* are also used as indefinite pronouns. e.g. Modern Oriya : *seṭhāre kehi nāhiṁ* 'no body is there', *kāhāku hele se biśvāsa karanti nāhiṁ* 'he believes no body'; cp Caryā *keho keho tohore biruā bolai* (18) 'some call thee of ugly appearance' etc. The indefinite pronoun *kichi* (< OIA **kiścit* (= *kaścit*) is used for neuter nouns. e.g. *se kichi khāini*, cp Aśokan *kiṁchi*, *kichi*, Beng *kichu*, Hindi *kuch*. Some compound indefinite pronouns i.e. Direct : *yekehi*, oblique *yāhā-kāhā-* and Direct/oblique *yāhākichi* (used for neuter only) and direct *yiesie*, oblique *yāhātāhā* are also used in Oriya. e.g. *yekehi e kāma kari pāribe*, *yāhā-kāhādei e kāma hebani*, *yāhākichi khāile mora caḷiba*, *seṭhāku yiesie yāānti*, *yāhāku tāhāku muṁ ekathā kahi pāribini* etc.

9. REFLEXIVE AND HONORIFIC PRONOUNS

The following are the reflexive and honorific pronouns used in Oriya. *āpe* (< OIA **ātmakaḥ* > *atpake* > *appage* > *āpae* > *āpe*) is used only in the direct case. *āpaṇā* (< OIA **ātmanaka*) is the corres-

ponding oblique form which is declined like the singular of nouns; e.g. *āpaṇāku, āpaṇāra* etc.; cp Insc: Gen. sg. *sabuheṁ...āpaṇāra sadācāre thibe*. The compound reflexive pronouns like *āpaṇā-āpaṇi* (<OIA **ātmanaka-ātmanikā*) and *ïye-ïyāhā* (= *ïyejhā*) are also used in Oriya. The tatsama forms *nija* (cp Caryā *nia*, Insc: *nijara prati*) and *svayam* (rare) as well as tadbhava forms *āpasa* <OIA **ātmasya* (Beams: Comp. Gram. of NIA II, pp. 330-331) and *hāde* (rare) <OIA **hṛdaya-* (e.g. SD: *mohara guru aṭanti hāde droṇa*) are also used as reflexive pronouns. The following reflexive pronouns are found in Caryā e.g. Caryā Nom *apā* (=*appā*) <OIA **ātmaka-*, Inst. *apaṇe* (<*apaṇa* + *e* inst < OIA **ātmanena*), Acc *apaṇā* <OIA **ātmanakam*, Gen *apaṇā* < OIA **ātmanakam*, cp OIA *asmākam* etc. Moreover Oriya *āpaṇa* < OIA **ātmanaka-* (cp Beng *āpᵃni*, Assamese *āpuni*, Hindi *āpᵃ*, Awadhi Nom & oblique sg *āpu*, pl *āpᵃ*, Gen *āpanᵃ*) is originally a reflexive pronoun which is used as honorific pronoun.

Extension of reflexive pronoun to honorific is a late development in NIA. It is absent in MIA. It is not found in the older literatures of NIA tongues (vide ODBL 592). It is also absent in Caryā. In Old Oriya literature the second personal pronouns like *tume, tumaku, tumara* etc. serve as honorific forms.

10. PRONOMINAL DERIVATIVES

The pronominal derivatives in Oriya may be classifical as, (i) pronominal adjectives and (ii) pronominal adverbs. The pronominal adjectives

comprise adjectives of quality and adjectives of quantity. The pronominal adverbs camprise adverbs of time and adverbs of place.

11. ADJECTIVES

A. Adjectives of quality.

The following pronominal adjectives of quality occur in Oriya.

(a) Adjectives of quality in *-manta*: Oriya *-manta* (cp also Caryā *-manta*) < MIA *-manta* < OIA *-mant* e.g. *emanta* (attested also in Insc), *ẏemanta*, *temanta*, *kemanta*, cp Beng *-mat* as in *te-mat* etc. The adjectival forms *emiti*, *temiti*, *ẏemiti* etc. <-**emati*, *temati*, etc. < *emat* + *i* (emphatic) etc. (and *mati* > *miti* by assimilation) show *-t-*<*-nt-*. The forms like *emitikā*, *emintikā*, *kemitikā*, *kemintikā* etc. occur with pleonastic *ka* + *ā* definitive. The forms *emiti-semiti*, *ẏemiti-semiti* etc. are the compound adjectives of quality used in Oriya.

(b) Certain adjectival pronominal derivatives like *esana* (<**aisana* < OIA **adr̥śanya*), *kesana* (<**kaiṣana* < OIA **kadr̥śanya*), similarly *jesana*, *tesana* etc. are also found in Oriya literature, cp Caryā *kaisaṇa* and *kaisaṇi* e.g. *jāma maraṇa bhava kaisaṇa hoi* (22) 'How do happen birth, death and existence'; *kaisaṇi hālo ḍombi tohori bhāvariāliṁ*. 'O Domba girl, of what sort is your indecent insistence?' (18), cp also Caryā *kaisā* (< OIA **katidr̥śaka-*) 'of what kind' e.g. *bhaṇai kāhna jiṇa-raaṇa vi kaisā*

'Says Kāhna, of what kind is indeed the jewel of the jina' (40). The pronominal derivatives like *ẏenhe, tenhe, kenhe* etc. < **yadṛśna-* (> **jainha* > *ẏenha* and *ẏenha+e* (inst-loc), > *ẏenhe*), **tadṛśna-*, *kadṛśna-* respectively are also used as adjectives of quality.

(c) The derivatives like *ẏepari, separi, kipari* etc. (< OIA **ye-prakarikā* > **jeppaariā* > *je-paariā* > *jeparī* > *ẏepari* etc. cp OIA *prakāra* 'kind') also come under the adjectives of quality.

B. Adjectives of quantity

ete, etaka, eteka, etika, etiki, eitaka; tete, tetaka, teteka, tetika, tetiki; sete, setaka, seteka, setika, setiki, seitaka; ẏete, ẏetaka, ẏeteka, ẏetika, ẏetiki, ẏeuṁtaka, ẏoutaka; kete, ketaka, keteka, ketika, ketiki, keuṁtaka, koutaka etc. are the pronominal adjectives of quantity used in Oriya. *ete, tete, sete, ẏete, kete* etc. are derived from *eta+e* (Inst-Loc) etc. and *eta* may be derived < MIA *etta* (< OIA *etat*) + *ka* pleon. > MIA *ettaka* (*-t-* is geminated) > *ettaa* > *eta*; cp Aśokan *etaka-*, P *ettaka.* Sen derives *eta* < OIA **iyattaka*, **ettaka* (vide An Ety Dict of Beng p. 99). The following are the derivations of the extended forms of *eta*. *etaka* < *eta+ka* (pleon), *eteka* < *ete+ka* (pleon), *etika* < *eti+ka* (pleon) < *ete+ka* (pleon); *etiki* < *etika+i* (emphatic); *eitaka, seitaka* etc. < *ei, sei* (above) + *taka* (by meta-analysis). The other forms are explained in the similar way.

According to another explanation, in Early MIA there was an adjective forming suffix *-ṭaka* (*-tika*)

which was added with the pronominal base (vide Sen: CGMIA p. 127) and the above forms with *-taka/ -tika* contain this suffix i.e. Oriya *etaka* < MIA *ettaka-* (=**et* + *taka-*) and Oriya *etika* < MIA *ettika* (=**et* +*tika*) etc. Similar explanation is applicable for the alike forms *setaka, setika, ẏetaka, ẏetika* etc. Chatterji derives these forms from a pronominal base + *-yant-* + adjectival *-tya-/-tiya-*. (vide ODBL 601 p. 855).

12. ADVERBS

A. Adverbs of place

The pronominal derivatives *eṇe, teṇe, ẏeṇe, keṇe* etc. are used as adverbs of place. *eṇe* is derived < OIA pronominal base *ena* + *e* locative, cp Vd *enas*, Gk *oinos*, Goth *ains*, Old Pruss *ains*, Lat *oinos, unus*. The forms *teṇe, ẏeṇe, keṇe* etc. are also derived in the similar manner, cp. Beng *enā, hena, enamate, enarūpa* and also *tenā, ẏenā, senā* (vide An Ety Dict of Beng p. 100). There are also some compound adverbs in Oriya like *eṇe-teṇe, ẏeṇe-seṇe* etc.

Some pronominal adverbs occur in Oriya with the post-position *āṛa* i.e. *iāṛe, siāṛe, ẏuāṛe, kuāṛe* etc. These are the shortened forms of *eiāṛe, seiāṛe, ẏeuṁāṛe, keuṁāṛe* respectively and are derived < *ei/sei/yeuṁ/-keuṁ* (discussed above) + *āṛa*+*e* locative. The form *āṛa* may be derived < OIA *ārdra* (= *ārdra bhūmi*), cp *āṛi* < *ārdrikā* in the Oriya words *naīāṛi* 'river side', *pokharīāṛi* 'tank side'; or *āṛa* may also be derived from OIA *-taṭa-* 'bank' (and later on the

meaning changed to direction) >*-aḍa-* >*-aṛa-*/ *-āṛa-* i.e. *iāṛe* = *eiāṛe* < *e* (pronominal base) + *i* emphatic + *taṭa* >*eiaḍa* >*eiaṛa* >*eiāṛa* >*iāṛa* (by shortening) and *iāṛa* + *e* locative >*iāṛe*. The forms *siāṛe*, *ẏuāṛe*, *kuāṛe* etc. are also to be derived in a similar manner. This *āṛa* is also found with the words *gharaāṛe*, *bāriāṛaku*, *bagicāāṛe*, *skulāṛaku* etc; cp. Beng *āṛa* (side, direction) which is derived by Sen <*ardha* 'part, half' (vide Sen An Ety Dict of Beng p. 36). But this derivation though befits Beng does not suit Oriya as far as its phonology is concerned. *ardha* would become *āṛha* in Oriya but not *āṛa*. Hence the above derivation based on Bengali evidence should now be revised on the basis of Oriya evidence.

The compound adverbial forms *iāṛe–siāṛe*, *ẏuāṛe –siāṛe* etc. also occur in Oriya. The adverbial forms *ẏahiṁ*, *tahiṁ*, *kāhiṁ* etc. are derived from a pronominal base + *dhi/dhim* locative. i.e. *ẏahiṁ* < OIA **ya–dhi–m*, *tahiṁ* < OIA **ta–dhi–m* and *kāhiṁ* < OIA **kā–dhi–m* etc.; cp MIA *jahi*, *tahi*, *kāhiṁ*, *kahiṁ* etc; Caryā *jahi* (31), *tahi* (31), *tahiṁ* (10, 14, 28), *kahiṁ* (7, 31, 49), cp. Gk *pothi* (= Skt **kadhi*) 'where', MP... *Śri Jagannātha mahāprabhu se kāhiṁ chanti ?,...... tahiṁre ẏajamāni abharā sabu toḷāibe*, SD : *daṇḍa gheni bhiṣma tahiṁ prabeśile āsi*, *banastare thile saṅga meḷa abā kāhiṁ*, *meghamāḷā diśuachi tahiṁ apramita*, BD: *bhagnī ẏe subhadrā tahiṁ sambhāḷanti artha*, *labaṇa samudra ẏahiṁ garara ẏe khaṇā*, *tahiṁre*, *tahiṁ madhye* etc.

B. Adverbs of time

ebe, tebe, ẏebe, kebe etc. are the adverbs of time in Oriya;. cp Ava *ebba, tabbe, tabbā* (vide Sen An Etymological Dictionary of Bengali p. 389), *jabba, kabbā* etc. ; cp Caryā (35) *ebem̐* (e.g. *ebem̐ mai bujhila sadguruboheṁ, ebem̐ ciarāga maku nathā*), (21) *taba*, (44, 46) *tabem̐*, (17, 21, 44) *jabem̐*, (17) *jabe* etc.; Insc : *tebe, jebe, kebe* ; MP : *ẏebe, tebe* (e.g. *koṭi-brahmā pralaya ẏebe hoi tebehem̐ Śripurusotama na tejanti debarāe*) ; SD : *ebe, ẏebe, kebe* etc. (e.g. *ebe jāuachu āmbhe..., ebe tote kahuachu, svāmī ẏebe likhana tu kalu śāstra ẏoge, pāṣāṇa gāra tā bākya kebe na tuṭai* etc.); cp also M. Beng *ebe-si* 'now indeed'; N Beng *tabe, ẏabe, kabe*; W. Hindi *ab, tab, jab, kab*; Brajbhākhā *abai̤, abē* ; *jabai̤, kabai̤* etc; Early and Modern Maithili *taba, tabē, tabe* ; *aba, abē, abe* ; *jaba, jabē, jabe, kaba, kabē, kabe* (ODBL **602**); Early Assamese *ewe, jewe, tewe.*

Oriya *ebe* is derived < **eba* +*e* (Loc-Inst) and **eba* < Ava *ebba* < OIA **evat*. Similarly *taba* as in Caryā (21) (< Ava **tabba* < OIA *tāvat*) +*e* (Loc-Inst) > *tabe* (cp Beng *tabe*) and Oriya *tebe* is an analogous form after *ebe*. Similarly *ẏebe* and *kebe* are also analogical forms < *yāvat* and **kāvat* respectively. An alternative explanation is *ebe* < MIA locative *ebbahim̐* (vide ODBL **602**) and *kebe, jebe, tebe*, etc. are analogical forms. Another alternative explanation is *ebe* < **etadvat*+*e* (Inst-Loc), *tabe* < *tadvat*+*e*, *ẏabe* < *yadvat*+*e*, *kabe* < **kadvat*+*e*, (vide An Etymological Dictionary of Bengali p. 100) and *-e-* in Oriya *tebe*,

ẏebe, *kebe* etc. is analogical after *ebe*. The compound adverbs like *ẏetebeḷe*, *setebeḷe*, *ketebeḷe*, *etebeḷe*, *ẏetebeḷe-setebeḷe* etc. are also used in Oriya and occur with the word *beḷa* < OIA *belā*. Similarly another set of adverbs *ekṣaṇi*, *ẏekṣaṇi*, *sekṣaṇi* etc. occur with *kṣaṇi* < OIA *kṣaṇa-*.

———

CHAPTER FIVE

1. NUMERALS

Numerals although present a phonetic problem show a common development in all NIA speeches probably for their use in the market level. Oriya numerals are enumerated below with their history. It may be noted that the final *a* is almost always dropped in numerals which is not a normal phonetic tendency in Oriya. Sometimes *i* is similarly dropped (e.g. *tini* >*tin/i/*> *cār* & *cāre*).

2. CARDINALS

1. *eka/ek*^{a} 'one' (Old Oriya *eka*, Modern Oriya *ek*^{a}): Caryā (2, 10) *eka*, Insc *eka*. *eka* <MIA *ekka* <OIA *eka*–; cp Assamese *e*– as in *e–ṭā* 'one'; Beng *ek*^{a}, Beng dialectal (Cittagong dialect) *eg*^{a}; Hindi *ek*^{a}.

2. *dui* 'two' : Caryā (26) *dui māra* (= *mārga*), Caryā (2) *dui ghare*, Insc *dui*, Modern Oriya *dui-prahara*, *duidina* etc. Caryā also shows '*do*' as in '*do bāṭa*' (= OIA *vartman*) etc. '*do*' also occurs in Oriya compound words as in *doḷi*, *do-mu*^{m}*hā*^{m}, *dokā* (used in games). '*di*' is found in *dipahara*, *diṭā*, *dijaṇa* etc. But in Oriya Sādhubhāṣā the numeral *dui* is generally used; e.g. *duiprahara*, *duijaṇa*, *duiṭā* etc. '*du*' (<*do*) is found in Oriya words like *duhe*^{m} etc. *dui* 'two' < MIA *duve* <OIA (*nt–fem*) *d(u)ve*; *do* <OIA *dvau*; *di* <OIA *dve*. *bā–/ba–* (<OIA *dvā*–) occur in compound numerals like *bāra*, *bāiśa*, *battiśa*, *bayāḷiśa*,

bayāaśī, cp Insc *bāra*, *bāiśa* etc. Modern Oriya *beni*. Early Oriya *beṇi* < OIA **dveni* (on analogy of *trīṇi*); cp. Caryā (1, 4, 5, 16, 17, 19) *beṇī* ; cp Gujrati *bẽ*, Sindhi *b'ẽ*.

3. *tini*/*tinⁱ* 'three' < OIA *trīṇi* (neut), cp Caryā (13) *tiṇi bhuaṇa*, *tinieṁ* (Inst- Loc), Insc *tini* (archaic *tinni*); Assamese, Beng, Maithili *tīni*, Hindi *tīnⁱ*. Western languages show forms with *-r-* e.g. Panjabi, Lahndi *trai*, Sindhi *ṭrẽ*, Gujrati *traṇ*. In compound numerals the forms *te-*, *ti-* (OIA < *traya-*, *tri-*) (as in *tera*, *teiśa*, *tettriśa*, *tiriśa* etc.) are used.

4. *cāri*/*cārⁱ* 'four' < OIA *catvāri* (neut) > *cattāri*/ **cātāri* > *cāāri* > *cāri* (vide Pischel CGPL **439,** p. 317); or ↑ OIA Acc (masc) *caturaḥ* > *caura* > *caara* (by vowel assimilation) > **cāra*; cp Amg Acc *cauro* = *caturaḥ* (used in verses also as the nom; vide Pischel **439,** p. 316); *cāra* > *cāri* on the analogy of *tini*; or *cāri* may be derived < **catāri* < *caturaḥ* + *catvāri*; cp Caryā (50) *cāri*, Insc *cāṛi* as well as Archaic *ciāri* (*-i-* probably shows palatalisation of *c*), cp Old Marathi *cyāri*, MP (b) *cāriyuga*, *cārimanure* etc ; cp Pali *cattāri*, Pkt *cattāri*, Ap *cāri*. *cau* (< OIA *catur-*) is found in some compound words and com-

---

↑ The derivation of *cāri* < OIA *catvāri* > MIA *cattāri* is phonologically impossible, since MIA *-tt-* cannot be dropped in NIA. To get rid of this phonological difficulty Pischel has proposed a further change of MIA *cattāri* to MIA *cātāri* (unattested). Two other alternative derivations are proposed here which are phonologically more probable.

pound numerals like *caumuṁhāṁṇi, cauda, cautiriśa* etc., cp Caryā *cau-* in *caudisa, cau-koṭṭi* (37) etc., *ca-* instead of *cau-* is used in *cabiśa* on the analogy of *paciśa, chabiśa.*

5. *pāṁca / pāñca* 'five' < OIA *-pañca*, cp Caryā *pāñca*, Insc *pāñca*, cp also Hindi & Beng *pāṁcᵃ*, Sinhalese *paha* < *pasa* < **paca.* Tatsama *pañca* is found in compounds e.g. *pañcabaṭī, pañcāyata* etc. *pañc-, paṁ-, paiṁ-, pan-* etc. are the variants of *pañca* found in compound numerals of Oriya. e.g. *pañcāaśī* '85', *pañcastori* '75', *pañcābana* '55', *pañcānabe* '95', *paṁṣaṭhi* '65', *paiṁṣaṭhi* '65', *paiṁcāḷiśa* '45', *pandara* '15' etc.

6. *cha/chaa, (saṛa, chaṛā)* 'six' < MIA *cha* corresponds to OIA *ṣaṭ*, cp Caryā (9) *chaṛagai* (= *ṣaḍgati*); Insc *cha*, Beng *chaya*, Ass *chay* [sɔj], Panjabi *che*, Marathi *sahā* etc. The etymology of *cha* presents a difficult problem. There are various opinions regarding the derivation of *cha*. According to Pischel *ṣaṣ* > *cha* (vide Pischel **441**, p. 317). 'A simple initial sibilant of Skt is sometimes aspirated in Pkt (i.e. sibilants > *śha, ṣha, sha*) and then all have become uniformly *cha.* (The derivation of this *cha* from an original sound group *kṣa* or *ska* is not at all certain.) e.g. *chamī = śamī, chāvaa = śāvaka, piucchā = pitṛṣvasā, māucchā = mātṛṣvasā* etc; (Pischel **211**, pp. 156–157). IE **skes* (**skwes*) is postulated for the derivation of *cha* by Chatterjee (ODBL **517**,). Burrow derives *cha* < IE **kseks, *ksweks.* "Middle Indo-Aryan *cha* goes back to an original differing from the Skt form,

and beginning with *kṣ*–" (Vide Burrow: Sanskrit Language p. 259). Etymology of *cha* is doubtful and there might be some Iranian influence on numerals. (Chatterjee ODBL **517**). But Oriya *saṛa* <**saṭaka* and *chaṛa* <*cha*+*saṛa*.

7. *sāta* 'seven' < OIA *sapta*. cp. Insc *sāta* (dialectal *sātu*), Modern Oriya *sāt*, Hindi *sāt*, Panjabi *satt*, Sindhi *sat*^{a}, Sinhalese *hata*, *sata*. In modern Oriya *sātu*, *sāto* are found in words like *sātuṭā*, *sātoṭi* etc. *sat*– occurs with compound numerals e.g. *satara* '17'; *satāiśa* '27', *satcāḷiś* '47', *satābana* '57' etc. *saiṁ* (on the analogy of *paiṁ*) occurs in the compound numeral *saiṁtiriś(a)* '37', cp Maithili *saiṁtīs* '37', *saiṁtālīs* '47', Hindi *saiṁtīs* '37', *saiṁtālīs* '47' Panjabi *saiṁt(r)ī* '37', *saiṁtāḷi* '47'; Gujrati *sāḍ-trīs* '37', Hindi *sarsaṭh* '67' (<*saṛ*–<*saḍ* on the analogy of *aḍ*). Gujrati and Hindi forms are on the analogy of *aḍ*– <*aṭh*– 'eight'.

8. *āṭha*/*āṭh*^{a} 'eight' < OIA *aṣṭa* > *aṭṭha* > *āṭha*; cp Caryā *aṭa* (15), *aṭha*– (13), Insc *āṭha*, cp also Beng *āṭ*^{a}, *āṣṭa*, *aṣṭa*, Hindi *āṭh*. *aṭh*– is found in compound numerals like *aṭhara* '18', *aṭhāiśa* '28', *aṭhtiriśa* '38' etc.

9. *na* 'nine' < OIA *nava*. cp Insc: *na*, Modern Oriya *na*, cp also MIA Nom-Acc Kharavela *nava*; N *no*; P *nava*; Pkt *ṇava*, Pkt Inst *navahiṁ*, Amg Gen *navaṇhaṁ*; cp Beng *na*, *nay*^{a}, Hindi *nau*.

10. *daśa* 'ten' < OIA *daśa*, cp Caryā *dasa*, *daha*, Insc *dasa*, Modern Oriya *daśa*/*daś*, Beng *daś*^{a}, Hindi *das*, Lahndi *dāh*, *das*; Sindhi *d'ah*^{a}, Gujrati dialectal

dah̃, Marathi *dahā*, Sinhalese *daha*(*ya*), *dasa*(*ya*), cp Aśokan *daśa* (S, M); A (G, K, D, J), N,P, Pkt, Ap *dasa*; Pkt, Ap *daha*.

THE TENS

The phonological peculiarities of the tens are the following :- (1) OIA *-ś-* >*h* (which is generally dropped in Oriya); (2) *-d-* > *-ḍ-* > *-ḷ-*/ *-l-* > *-r-*; *-daśa* >**-ḍaśa*, *-ḍasa* (Aśokan *duvāḍasa*) > *-ḷasa*, *-lasa* (Jaina Amg *duvālasa*), *-rasa* (Pali) > *-raha* in 2nd MIA. The final group *-aha* > *a* in Oriya, Beng and Assamese. (Vide ODBL **522**).

11. *egāra* 'eleven' <OIA *ekādaśa* > *eggārasa* > *eggāraha* > *egāraa* > *egāra*. cp Pali *ekādasa*, *ekārasa*; Amg *ekkārasa*, *ikkārasa*; Mah, Ap *eāraha*; Ap *eggāraha*, also cp Hindi *gyārah*, Panjabi *yārām̐*, Sindhi *yārahan*, Marathi *akrā*, Beng *egār*^{a}, Sinhalese *ekoḷosa*,

12. *bāra* 'twelve' <OIA *dvādaśa* > *dbādasa* > *bārasa* > *bāraha* > *bāraa* > *bāra*, cp Insc *bāra*, Modern Oriya *bāra*, cp also MIA A (D) *duvādasa*; A (K, T etc.) *duvāḍasa*, (J) *duvādasa*, (M) *duvaḍaśa*, (G) *dbādasa*, (S) *badaya*, Jetavanārāma Insc (Ceylon) *doḷasa*; P *dvādasa*; Pkt *bārasa*; Amg (also JM) *duvālasa*, Mah, Ap *bāraha-* and Beng *bāra*, Hindi *bārah*, Panjabi *bārām̐*, Sindhi *b'ārahan*, Marathi *bārā*, Gujrati *bār*, Sinhalese *doḷosa*.

13. *tera* 'thirteen' < OIA *trayodaśa*, cp A (G) *traidasa*, (M) *tredaśa*, (K, D) *tedasa*, (S) *tidaśa*; N *trodasa*; P, Amg *terasa*; P *telasa*; Mah, Ap *teraha*, cp also Beng *tera*, Hindi *terah*, Gujrati *ter*, Sinhalese *teḷesa* etc.

14. *cauda*; 'fourteen' <OIA *caturdaśa*, *cauddasa* > *cauddaha* > *caudaha* > *caudaa* > *cauda*, cp Insc *cauda*; A *codasa*; P *cuddasa*, *catuddasa*; Pkt *coddasa*, *coddaha*, *cauddasa*; Ap. *cauddaha*, *cāu(d)-daha*, *daha-cāri*, *cāridaha* (cp Gk *deka duo* '12', Latin *decem novem* '19' etc. CGMIA p 135 foot note), also cp Beng *caudda*, *cauda* (ŚKK); *codda*, *caudda* (NB); Ass *caidhya* (metathesis of *-h-* in Assamese and *y* indicates doubling), Gujrati *caud*.

15. *pandara* 'fifteen' < OIA *pañcadaśa* > *panna-rasa* > *pandarasa* (by hyper-Sanskritism) > *pandaraha* > *pandaraa* > *pandara*, cp Kharavela *paṁdarasa*, Nasik cave Insc *panarasa*; N *paṁcadasa*; P *pañcadasa*, *pannarasa*; P, Amg, JM *paṇṇarasa*; Ap *paṇṇaraha*, *daha-pañca*, *daha-pañcaiṁ*, also cp Beng *panera*, *panara*, Gujrati *pandar*, Hindi *pandrah*, Sinhalese *pahaḷośa*.

16. *ṣohaḷa* 'sixteen' < OIA *ṣoḍaśa* > *soḷaha* > *sohaḷa* by metathesis (*ṣ-* for *s-* in Oriya due to the influence of Sanskrit, cp P & Pkt *soḷasa*; P *sorasa*; Ap *soḷaha*, *soḷā*, also cp Beng *ṣola*, Hindi *solah*, Gujrati *soḷ*, Sinha lese *soḷosa*.

17. *satara* 'seventeen' < *śaptadaśa* > *sattarasa* > *sataraha* > *sataraa* > *satara*, cp P *sattadasa*; P & Pkt *sattarasa*, Ap. *daha-satta*, also cp Gujrati *satar*, Beng *satara*, *satera*, Hindi *satrah* etc.

18. *aṭhara* 'eighteen' < OIA *aṣṭādaśa* > *aṭṭhārasa* > *aṭṭhāraha* > *aṭhāraa* > *aṭhāra* > *aṭhara* by assimil-ation or on the analogy of *pandara*, *satara* etc.,

cp P *aṭṭhādasa*; P & Pkt *aṭṭhārasa*; Ap *aṭṭhāraha*, also cp Gujrati *aḍhār*, Hindi *aṭhāraha*, Beng *āṭhāra*.

19. *ūṇiśa* 'nineteen' <*ūnaviṁśa*– (=OIA *ūna-viṁśati*) >*unavīsa*>*uṇaīsa*>*uṇisa* (by shortening) and *ūṇiśa* (by Skt influence), cp Aśokan *ekunavīsati*; P *ekunavīsa(ti)*; Amg. *eguṇavīsam*, *auṇavīsam*, *auṇvīsaī*; Ap *eguṇaviṁsā*, *ṇava-daha*, also cp Beng *uniś*ª, Hindi *unīs*.

20. *koṛie*, *koṛi* 'twenty'. *koṛi* may be a Kol word in origin. Counting by twenties is found in Orissa, Bengal, Assam and Bihar. *koṛi* was the highest unit of counting among the Kols. Oriya *koṛie* (*koṛi*) <*koṛi*+*e* (<*eka*) may be compared with Beng *kuṛi*, Ass *kuri*, Hindi *koṛī*, Gujrati *koṭī*, *kunṭī* etc. all meaning 'score'. Oriya also shows *koṛi* in '*eka koṛi pāñca*=' 25 and '*dui koṛi tin*' =43 etc. *biśa*/*biśā* '20' (<OIA *viṁśa*–) found in the words *uṇiś*ª*biś*ª 'more or less,' lit. '19 or 20,' *biśāśahe* (= 120) etc. are less used in Oriya, cp Aśokan & P *vīsati*; N *viśati*; Pkt *vīsa(ṁ)*, *vīsā*; Pkt *vīsaī*, *vīsaiṁ*; Ap *vīsa*. The fem ending of *vīsā*, *tīsā* etc. is remniscent of the gender of *viṁśati*, *triṁśat* etc. (vide CGMIA p 136 footnote).

21. *ekoiśa* 'twenty-one' < OIA *ekaviṁśa*- (=OIA *ekaviṁśati*) >*ekavīsa*> *ekaīsa*> *ekaisa*, (cp Ass *ekaic*ª) and then it became *ekoisa* (Ap *ekku*+*vīsa*) through the influence of *ekonaviṁśatiḥ*, cp Hindi *ikkīs*, Beng *ekuś*ª and Ass *ekaic*ª.

22. *bāiśa* 'twenty-two' < OIA *dvāviṁśa*– (=*dvā-viṁśati*) >**dbāvīsa*>*bāvīsa*>*bāisa*, cp P *dvāvīsa(ti)*,

bāvīsa(ti); Pkt *bāvīsaṁ*, Ap *bāisa*; also cp Beng *bā̃iś*^{a}, Ass *bāic*^{a}, Hindi *bāīs*.

23. *teiśa* 'twenty-three' <OIA **treviṁśa* (cp *tre-* in Vd *tredhā* beside *tridhā*) =*trayoviṁśatiḥ*. OIA **treviṁśa* >*tevīsa*>*teīsa*>*teisa*, cp P *tevīsa*, Pkt *tevīsaṃ*, Ap *teisa*, also cp Beng *teiś*^{a}, Ass *teic*^{a}, Hindi *teīs*.

24. *cabiśa* 'twenty-four' <OIA *caturviṁśa* (= *caturviṁśatiḥ*) >*cauvvīsa*>*cauvīsa*>*cauvisa*>*cabisa* (*ca-* for *cau-* on the analogy of *paciśa*, *chabiśa*); cp P *catuvīsa*; Pkt *cauv(v)īsaṁ*, Ap *cauvīsa*, *covīsa*, aslo cp Beng *cabbiś*^{a}, Hindi *caubīs*.

25. *paciśa* 'twenty-five' <OIA *pañcaviṁśa* (= *pañcaviṁśatiḥ*) >*pañcaīsa*>*pañcīsa* (by shortening) >*paṁcīsa*>*paṁcisa*>*pacisa*, cp Insc *pañcisa*; A (T etc.) *paṁnavīsati*; P *pañcavīsa*, *paṇṇavīsati*, *paṇṇuvīsa*, Pkt *paṇavīsaṁ*, *paṇuvīsam*, *panuvīsā(hi)*, Ap *pacīsa*, also cp Beng *paṁciś*^{a}, Hindi *pacīs*.

26. *chabiśa* 'twenty-six' (= OIA *ṣaḍviṁśa* (*-tiḥ*) <*cha+biśa* (<*vīsa*<*viṁśa*), cp A (T etc.) *saḍuvīsati*; Pkt *chavvīsaṁ*; Ap *chavvīsa*, *chahavīsa*, also cp Beng *chābbiś*^{a}, Ass *chābbic*^{a}, Hindi *chabbis*.

27. *satāiśa* 'twenty-seven' <OIA *saptaviṁśa(-tiḥ)* >*sattavīsa*>*satāīsa*>*satāisa*, cp A (T) *saṭavīsati*, Pkt *sattavīsaṁ*, *sattāvisaṁ*, *sattāvīsā*, Ap. *sattāīsa*, also cp Beng *sātāiś*^{a}, *sātāś*^{a}, Ass *sātāic*^{a}, Hindi *satāis*.

28. *aṭhāiśa* 'twenty-eight' <OIA *aṣṭāviṁśa* (*-tiḥ*)> *aṭṭhāvīsa*>*aṭhāīsa*>*aṭhāisa*, cp Pkt *aṭṭhāvīsaṁ*, *aṭṭhāvīsā*; Ap *aṭṭhāisa*, *aṭhāisā*, also cp Beng *āṭhāś*^{a}, Hindi *aṭhāis*.

It may be noted that the forms *ūṇiśa*, *biśa*, *ekoiśa* and others up to *aṭhāiśa*, presuppose the OIA forms * *ūnaviṁśa*, **viṁśa* etc instead of the regular forms *ūnaviṁśati*, *viṁśati* etc. A change has already occurred in MIA stage where *viṁśati* has been replaced by by **vīṁśa* (cp P. *vīsa*) because of the influence of the numerals *triṁśat*, *catvāriṁśat* and *pañcāśat* which show a regular loss of the final *-t*, a normal phonetic change in MIA e.g. Pali *tiṁsa*, *cattārīsa*; *paññāsa*.

29. *aṇatiriśa* 'twenty-nine' < *aṇa* (= *ana* negative prefix) + *tiriśa* = OIA *ūnatriṁśat*. In Oriya the negative prefix *aṇa–* replaces *ūna–* in the numerals like *aṇatiriśa*, *aṇacāḷiśa* etc, cp Taittirīya Saṃhitā : *ekān na viṁśati* 'one less than twenty = 19' and also cp Beng *untiriś*^{a}, Hindi *untīs* etc.

30. *tiriśa* 'thirty' < OIA *triṁśat* > *tirīsa* (anaptyctic *–i–*) > *tirisa*, cp Insc *trīḥseka* (*–ka* pleonastic); N *triśa*; P *tiṁsa(ṁ)*, *tiṁsā*, *tiṁsati*; Pkt, Ap *tīsaṁ*, *tīsā*; Ap *tīsa*, also cp Beng *tiriś*^{a}, Hindi *tīs*, Ass *tric*^{a}.

31. *ek*^{a}*tiriśa* 'thirty one' < *eka*+*tiriśa*, cp Beng *ektiriś*^{a}, Hindi *iktīs*.

32. *batiśa* 'thirty-two' < OIA *dvātriṁśat* > *^{d}*battīsa* > *batīsa* > *batisa*, cp P *dvattiṁsa*, *battiṁsa*; Pkt *battīsaṁ*, *battīsā*; Mah *do–soḷaha*; Ap *battīsa*, also cp Beng *batiś*^{a}, Hindi *batīs*.

33. *tetiśa* 'thirty–three' < OIA **tretriṁśat* (= *trayastriṁśat*) > **tettīsa* > *tetīsa* > *tetisa*, cp. Pkt *tettīsaṁ*; Amg *tāyattīsā*, *tāvattīsaga*, cp Beng *tetriś*^{a} Hindi *taiṁtīs*.

34. *cautiriśa* 'thirty-four' < OIA **catur-triṁśat* (= *catus-triṁśat*), cp Pkt *cottīsaṁ*, also cp Beng *cautiriś*^{a}, Hindi *caum̐tīs*.

35. *paim̐tiriśa* (*paim̐* above + *tiriśa*) 'thirty-five' < OIA *pañcatriṁśat*, cp Kharavela *panatīsāhi* (Inst); Pkt *paṇatīsaṁ*, also cp Beng *pam̐yatriśa*, *pam̐yatiriś*^{a}, Hindi *paim̐tīs*.

36. *chatiśa* 'thirty-six' (= *cha* + *tiśa* < *triṁśat*) < OIA *ṣaṭ-triṁśat*, cp Insc *chatisī*, dialectal Oriya *chatiśi* (final *i* by assimilation), P *chattiṁsa*; Pkt *chattīsaṁ*, *chattīsā*, also cp Beng *chatiś*^{a}, Hindi *chattīs*.

37. *saim̐tiriśa* 'thirty-seven' (= *saim̐* + *tiriśa*) < OIA *saptatriṁśat*, cp Beng *sāim̐tiriś*^{a}, Hindi *saim̐tīs*.

38. *aṭh(a)tiriśa* 'thirty-eight' < OIA *aṣṭa-triṁśat*, cp Beng *āṭhtiriś*^{a}, Hindi *aṛtīs*.

39. *aṇacāḷiśa*, 'thirty-nine' (= *aṇa* negative prefix + *cāḷiśa*), cp Beng *uncāliś*^{a}, Hindi *untālīs*.

40. *cāḷiśa* 'forty' < OIA *catvāriṁśat* > *cattārīsa* > *cattālīsa*/**cātālīsa* > *caālīsa* > *cāḷīsa* > *cāḷisa*, cp Insc *cāḷisa*. Dropping of *-tt-* is found in 2nd MIA, in Jaina Ardha Magadhi (vide ODBL **525**, and also vide Pischel **87**, p 80 for the dropping of the double consonants); cp P *cattārīsa(ṁ)*, *cattārīsā*, *cattālīsa(ṁ)*, *cattālīsā*, *tālīsa*; Pkt *cattālīsaṁ*, *cattālīsa*, *cayālisaṁ*; Pkt, Ap *cālīsa*, cp also Beng *callis*^{a}, *cālliś*^{a}, *cāliś*^{a}, Hindi *cālīs*.

41. *ekacāḷiśa* 'fortyone' < OIA *ekacatvāriṁśat*, cp Beng *ekcāliś*^{a}, Hindi *iktālīs*.

42. *bayāḷiśa* 'forty-two' < OIA *dvācatvāriṁśat* > *bācātārīsa* > *bāāālisa* > *bāyālisa* > *bayālisa*, cp Amg *bāyālīsaṁ*, also cp Beng *biyālliśa*, Hindi *bayālīs*.

43. *teyāḷiśa* 'forty-three' < OIA **trecatvāriṁśat*, cp *tre* in *tredhā* etc beside *tri*-(= OIA *tricatvāriṁśat*) > *tecālisa* > *teālisa* > *teyālisa*, cp Jaina Mah *teyālīsaṁ*, also cp Beng *tetālliśa*, Hindi *taiṁtālīs*.

44. *caurāḷiśa* 'forty-four' < OIA **catur-catvāriṁśat* (= OIA *catus-catvāriṁśat*) > *catuccattālīsa* > *caucaālīsa* > *caucālīsa* > *cauālīsa* (on the analogy of *teyālīsa*) and *cauālīsa* > *caurāḷiśa* on the analogy of *caurāasī* '84', cp. Amg. *caüyālīsam*, *coyālīsaṁ*, *coyālīsā*, Ap *cauālīsa*, also cp Beng *cuāliśa*, Hindi *cauālīs*.

45. *paiṁcāḷiśa* 'forty-five' (= *paiṁ* above + *cāḷiśa*), cp Amg *paṇayālīsā*, *paṇayālīsaṁ*, Ap *pacatālīsa*, also cp Beng *paṁy(a)tālliś*,a Hindi *paiṁtālīs*.

46. *chayāḷiśa* 'forty-six' < OIA *ṣaṭcatvāriṁśat* > *chacāḷisa* (*saṭ* > *cha* vide above) > *chayāḷiśa* (on the analogy of *bayāḷiśa*), cp Amg *chāyālīsam* and also cp Beng *chiyāliś*,a Hindi *chiyālīs*.

47. *sat(a)cāḷiśa* 'forty-seven' < OIA *saptacatvāriṁśat*, cp Amg *sīyālīsaṁ*, Beng *sataćāliś*, Hindi *saiṁtālīs*. Oriya *saṛ(a)cāḷiśa* (= 47) is on the analogy of *aṛcāḷiśa* (= 48).

48. *aṭh(a)cāḷiśa*, *aṛ(a)cāḷiśa*, 'forty-eight' < OIA *aṣṭacatvāriṁśat*, cp Amg, JM *aḍhayālīsaṁ*, Ap *aḍhaālīsa* but Amg also *aṭṭhacattālīsaṁ*, also cp Beng *aṭha-cāliśa*, Hindi *aṛtālīs*.

49. *aṇacāśa* 'forty-nine' < OIA *ūnapañcāśat* > *ūnaañcāsa* > *ūnaccāsa* > *ūnacāsa*. The negative prefix *aṇa-* replaces *ūna-* in *ūnacāsa* and thus *ūnacāsa* > *aṇacāsa*, cp Amg *ekkūṇapaṇṇa* and Beng *ūnapañcāś*ᵃ *ūnañcāś*ᵃ, Hindi *unacās*.

50. *pacāśa* 'fifty' < OIA *pañcāśat* > *paccāsa* > *pacāsa*, cp Insc *paṁcāsa*, also cp N *paṁcaśa*; P *paññāsa(ṁ)*, *paññāsā*; Pkt *paṇṇāsaṁ*, *paṇṇāsā*, *pannā*, also cp Beng *pañcāś*ᵃ, Hindi *pacās*.

51. *ekābana* 'fiftyone' < OIA *ekapañcāśat*, OIA *-ñca-* > Pkt *-ṇṇa-* dialectally (vide Pischel **273** p 192). So *pañcāśat* > *paṇṇāha* > *paṇṇā* (cp A *pannā*) > *panā* > *pana*. Thus OIA *ekapañcāśat* > *ekkapana* > *ekavana* > *ekabana* > *ekābana* on the analogy of *bābana*, *aṭhābana* etc, cp Amg, JM *ekkāvannaṁ*, cp Beng *ekāban*ᵃ, Hindi *ikāvan*, Maithili *ekāwan*.

52. *bābana* 'fifty-two' < OIA *dvāpañcāśat* > *bāpana* > *bāvana* > *bābana*. *bābana* also occur as *bāāna* and *bāuna* in Oriya, cp Amg, JM *bāvaṇṇaṁ* and cp Beng *bāhānna*, *bāyānna*, Ass *bau͡wan* *bau͡wānna* (*-nn-* in Beng & Ass is a late development; vide ODBL **526**), Maithili *bāwan*.

53. *tepana* 'fifty-three' < OIA **trepañcāśat* = *trayaḥpañcāśat* or *tripañācśat*, cp Amg, JM *tevaṇṇaṁ* and also cp Beng *tepan*ᵃ, Maithili *tirpan*, Hindi *tirpan*.

54. *caubana* 'fifty-four' < OIA **catur-pañcāśat* (= *catuḥ-pañcāśat*) > *catuppañcāśa* > *caupaṇṇāha* > *caupanā* > *caupana* > *cauvana* > *caubana*. cp

MIA *cauvaṇṇaṁ* (Amg. JM) and also cp Beng *cuānna*, Ass *cauwan*, Maithili *cauwan*, Hindi *cauvan*.

55. *pañcābana* 'fifty-five' <OIA *pañcapañcāśat* >*pañcapana* >*pañcabana* >*pañcābana* (-*ā*- on the analogy of *ekābana*, *bābana* etc.), cp MIA (Amg, JM) *paṇavaṇṇaṁ* and Beng *pañcānna*, Maithili *pacpan*, Hindi *pacpan* etc.

56. *chapana* 'fifty-six' (<*cha* '6' + *pana* '50' above) = OIA *ṣaṭpañcāśat*, cp MIA *chappaṇṇaṁ* (JM, Amg), P *chappaññāsa* and Beng *chāppānna*, Hindi *chappan*.

57. *satābana* 'fifty-seven' <OIA *saptapañcāśat* >*sattapana* >*satabana* >*satābana* on the analogy of *ekābana*, *bābana*, *pañcābana* etc., cp 2nd MIA *sattāvaṇṇaṁ* (Amg, JM) and also cp Beng *sātānna*, Hindi *satāvan* etc.

58. *aṭhābana* 'fifty-eight' <OIA *aṣṭāpañcāśat* >*aṭṭhāpana* >*aṭhābana*, cp 2nd MIA *aṭṭhāvaṇṇaṁ*, Ap *vahiṁunī saṭṭhi* 'two less than sixty' and also Beng *āṭhānna*, Hindi *aṭhāvan*.

59. *aṇasaṭhi* 'fifty-nine' <negative prefix *aṇa* + OIA *ṣaṣṭi*- >*aṇasaṭṭhi* >*aṇasaṭhi*, cp Pkt *egūṇasaṭṭhiṁ*, *auṇaṭṭhiṁ*, Beng *unaṣāṭh*, Hindi *unsaṭh* etc.

60. *ṣāṭhie* 'sixty' = *ṣāṭhi* <OIA *ṣaṣṭiḥ* (>*saṭṭhi* >*sāṭhi*) + -*e* on the analogy of *koṛie*, or *sāṭhie* < *ṣaṣṭikaḥ*, cp Insc *sāṭhie*. In compound numerals -*ṣaṭhi* is used in Oriya e.g. *ekaṣaṭhi*, *bāṣaṭhi* etc, cp A, P *saṭṭhi*, Pkt *saṭṭhi(ṁ)*, Sauraseni *chaṭṭhiṁ* and Beng *ṣāṭ*, Ass *ṣāṭhi*, Hindi *sāṭh* etc.

61. *ekaṣaṭhi* 'sixtyone' < OIA *ekaṣaṣṭiḥ*, cp Pkt *igasaṭṭhiṁ, egaṭṭhi* and Beng *ekṣaṭṭi*, Hindi *iksaṭh.*

62. *bāṣaṭhi* 'sixty-two' < OIA *dvāṣaṣṭiḥ*, cp Pkt *bāṣaṭṭhiṁ, bāvaṭṭhiṁ*, also cp Beng *bāṣaṭṭi*, Hindi *bāsaṭh.*

63. *teṣaṭhi* 'sixty-three' < OIA **treṣaṣṭiḥ* (= *triṣaṣṭiḥ*), cp Pkt *tesaṭṭhiṁ, tevaṭṭhiṁ* and cp Beng *teṣaṭṭi*, Hindi *tirsaṭh* etc.

64. *cauṣaṭhi* 'sixty-four' < OIA **caturṣaṣṭiḥ* (= *catuḥṣaṣṭiḥ*), cp Caryā (3) *causaṭhī*, (12) *cauṣaṭṭhi*, and Pkt *causaṭṭhiṁ, cosaṭṭhī, cauvaṭṭhi*, al o cp Beng *cauṣaṭṭi*, Hindi *cauṁsaṭh.*

65. *paṁṣaṭhi* 'sixty-five' < OIA *pañcaṣaṣṭiḥ*, cp Pkt *paṇasaṭṭhiṁ, paṇaṭṭhiṁ* and Beng *paṁy (a) ṣaṭṭi*, Hindi *paiṁsaṭh.*

66. *chaṣaṭhi* 'sixty-six' < OIA *ṣaṭṣaṣṭiḥ*, cp Pkt *chāvaṭṭhiṁ*, Beng *chaṣaṭṭi*, Hindi *chiyāsaṭh* etc.

67. *sataṣaṭhi* 'sixty-seven' < OIA *saptaṣaṣṭiḥ*, cp 2nd MIA *sattasaṭṭhiṁ* and Beng *satṣaṭṭi*; Hindi *sarsaṭh*; *sar* < *saṛ* 'seven' on the analogy of *aṛ* 'eight' found in Hindi *aṛtālīs* and Oriya *aṛcāḷiśa* '48'.

68. *aṭhaṣaṭhi* 'sixty-eight' < OIA *aṣṭaṣaṣṭiḥ*, cp 2nd MIA *aḍhasaṭṭhiṁ, aṭṭhasaṭṭhi*, and Beng *āṭhṣaṭṭi*, Hindi *aṛsaṭh.*

69. *aṇastari*/*-stori* 'sixty-nine' < *aṇa* 'negative prefix'+*stari* /*-stori* (Oriya *saturi* 'seventy' > *sturi* > *stori* by syncopation), cp Amg *egūṇasattariṁ*, *auṇattarim* and Beng *unsattar*, Hindi *unhattar.*

70. *saturi* 'seventy' < **satari* < MIA *sattari* (cp P *sattari*, *sattati*, Nagarjuni *sattari*, Amg *sattariṁ*, *sayarī*) < OIA *saptatiḥ*. The change of *-ti-* to *-ri-* is explained by some in the following manner : *-ti* > *-ṭi* > *-ḍi* > *-ṛi* > *-ri*. But the strange change of *-t-* > *-r-* is observed from first MIA stage. e.g. Pali *sattari* besides *sattati*. This change (of *-t-* > *-r-*) might have been due to the influence of *-r-* in the word found for seventeen (with *-r-*). e.g. P, Pkt *sattarasa*, Ap **sataraha*, Oriya *satara* etc. *satari* > *saturi* with *u* for *a* by dissimilation of the vowels. *satari* occurs with compound numerals like *ekastari*, *bāstari* etc. (*ekasatari* > *ekastari* by syncopation); cp Beng *sattar*, Hindi *sattar*.

71. *ekastari*,*-stori* 'seventy-one' < OIA *ekasaptatiḥ* (for *-stari*,*-stori* vide above 70), cp Amg *ekkasattariṁ*, Ap *ehattari* and Beng *ekattar*, Hindi *ik-hattar*.

72. *bāstari*/*-stori* (= *bā* < *dvā* + *-stari*/*stori* above 70) 'seventy-two' < OIA *dvāsaptatiḥ*, cp Amg *bāvattarim*, JM *bisattari*, Ap *bāvattari* and also Beng *bāhāttar*, Hindi *bāhattar*.

73. *testari*/*-stori* 'seventy-three' < OIA **tresaptatiḥ* (= OIA *trisaptatiḥ*), cp JM *tevattariṁ* and Beng *tehettar*, Hindi *tihattar*.

74. *caustari*/*-stori* 'seventy-four' < OIA *catuḥsaptatiḥ* (for *cau-* vide above 4), cp Pkt JM *covattarim*, *cauhattari*, Beng *cauttar*, Hindi *cauhattar*-

75. *pañcastari*/*-stori* 'seventy-five' < OIA *pañcasaptatiḥ*, cp Khāravela *pānatarīhi* (Inst), Amg

pañcahattarie (Inst), *pannattari*, JM *paṇasayarī* and also cp Beng *pañcahattar*, Hindi *pacᵘhattar*.

76. *chastari*/-*stori* 'seventy-six' < OIA *ṣaṭsaptatiḥ*, cp JM *chāvattariṁ* and Beng *chiyāttar*, Hindi *chihattar*.

77. *satastari*/-*stori* 'seventy-seven' < OIA *saptasaptatiḥ*, cp JM *sattahattariṁ* and Beng *satattar*, Hindi *satᵃhattar*.

78. *aṭhastari*/-*stori* 'seventy-eight' < OIA *aṣṭasaptatiḥ*, cp JM *aṭṭhahattariṁ*, *aṭṭhattari* and Beng *āṭhattar*, Hindi *aṭhᵃ-hattar*.

79. *aṇāaśī*, 'seventy-nine' = *aṇā* (< *anā*- prohibitive prefix as in *anāsṛṣṭi*, vide p. 47) + *aśī* (< *aśīti*). Its OIA equivalent is *unāśītiḥ*, cp Amg *egūṇāsīiṁ* and Beng *unāśī*, Hindi *unāsī* etc.

80. *aśī* 'eighty' < OIA *aśītiḥ* > *asīi* > *asī* > *aśī*, cp P *asīti*, Amg *asīiṁ*, JM *asīi*, Ap *asi* and also cp Beng *āśī*, Hindi *assī*, Sindhi *asī*, Marathi *aiśīṁ*, *ēṁśīṁ*, Gujrati *ēṁśī*, *hēṁśī*, Old Western Rajasthani *aisi*, Panjabi *assī*.

81. *ekāaśī* 'eighty-one' < *eka* + *aśīti*- > *ekaasī*, and *ekaasī* > *ekāaśī* on the analogy of *bayāaśī* etc. Its OIA equivalent is *ekāśītiḥ*, cp JM *ekkāsīi* and Beng *ekāśī*, Hindi *ikāsī*.

82. *bayāaśī* 'eighty-two' < *dvāaśītiḥ* (= OIA *dvāśītiḥ*) > *bāaśī* (cp Amg *bāsīiṁ*), and *bāaśī* > *bayāaśī* on the analogy of *bayāḷiśa* etc. cp Beng *birāśī*, Hindi *bayāsī*.

83. *teyāasī* 'eighty-three' < **treasīti-* (=OIA *tryasītiḥ*) > *teasī*, and *teyāasī* is formed on the analogy of *teyāḷiśa* etc, cp Amg *tesīim*, inst also *teyāsīe*, JM *tesīi* and also cp Beng *tirāśī*, Hindi *tirāsī*.

84. *caurāasī* 'eighty-four' <OIA *caturasītiḥ* > *caurasī*; *caurasī* > *caurāasī* on the analogy of *ekāasī*, *bayāasī* etc., cp Amg *caurāsīim*, *corāsīim*, *corāsī*; JM *caurāsīi*, *culāsīi* and Beng *curāsī*, Hindi *caurāsī*.

85. *pañcāasī* 'eighty-five' <OIA *pañca-asītiḥ* (=*pañcāsītiḥ*) >*pañcaasī* and *pañcaasī* >*pañcāasī* on the analogy of *pañcā* in *pañcābana*, cp Amg *pañcāsīim* and also cp Beng *pañcāśī*, Hindi *pacāsī*.

86. *chayāasī* 'eighty-six' <**ṣaṭasītiḥ* (=OIA *ṣaḍasītiḥ*) >*chaasī*; *chaasī* >*chayāasī* on the analogy of *bayāasī* etc., cp Amg *chaḷasīim* and Beng *chiyāśi*, Hindi *chiyāsī*.

87. *satāasī*, 'eighty-seven' <*sapta-asītiḥ* (= OIA *saptāsītiḥ*), cp Amg *sattāsīim* and Beng *sātāśī*, Hindi *satāsī*.

88. *aṭhāasī* 'eighty-eight' <*aṣṭā-asītiḥ* (= OIA *aṣṭāsītiḥ*), cp Amg *aṭṭhāsīim* and Beng *āṭhāśī*, Hindi *aṭhāsī*.

89. *aṇanabe* 'eighty-nine' (=*aṇa*+*nabe*). Its OIA equivalent is *navāsītiḥ*/*ūnanavatiḥ*, cp Amg *egūṇaṇauim* and also cp Beng *unanabbai*, *ūnanabbui*, Hindi *navāsī*.

90. *nabe* 'ninety' <OIA *navatiḥ* >*navai* >*nave* >*nabe*, or *nabe* <**nabbai* (The geminated form might have been created due to emphasis or it may

be a western imposition as suggested by Chatterjee vide ODBL **530**, p 800), cp Pali *navuti*; Amg *nauiṁ*; JM *nauī* and also Beng *nabbai*, *nabbui*, *nai*, Hindi *navve*, Ass *naī*, Panj *nabbe*, *nawwe*, Sindhi *nave*, Marathi *navvad*, Bihari *nabbai*, Gujrati *nēvuṁ* etc. Oriya *nau* and the other *–u* forms of NIA are based on some early MIA forms like Pali *navuti*.

91. *ekānabe* 'ninety-one' < OIA *ekanavatiḥ* > *ekanabe* and *ekanabe* > *ekānabe* on the analogy of *ekāaśī* etc, cp Amg *ekkāṇaiiṁ* and Beng *ekānabbai*, Hindi *ikānave* etc.

92. *bayānabe* 'ninety-two' < OIA *dvānavatiḥ* > *bānabe*, and *bānabe* > *bayānabe* on the analogy of *bayāaśī*, etc., cp Amg *bāṇauiṁ*, JM *bāṇauī* and Beng *birānabbai*, Hindi *bānave* etc.

93. *teyānabe* 'ninety-three' < OIA**trenavatiḥ* (= OIA *trinavatiḥ*) > *tenabe*, and *tenabe* > *teyānabe* on the analogy of *teyāaśī*, cp Amg *teṇauiṁ*, JM *teṇauī*, Beng *tirānabbai*, Hindi *tirānave*.

94. *caurānabe* 'ninety-four' < OIA *caturnavatiḥ* > *caunabe*, and *caunabe* > *caurānabe* on the analogy of *caurāaśī*, cp Amg *cauṇauiṁ* and Beng *curānabbai*, Hindi *caurānave*.

95. *pañcānabe* ninety-five' < OIA *pañcanavatiḥ* > *pañcanave*, and *pañcanave* > *pañcānabe* on the analogy of *pañcāaśī* etc., cp Amg *pañcāṇauiṁ*, JM *pañcāṇauī*, *paṇaṇauī* and Beng *pañcānabbai*, Hindi *pacānave*.

96. *chayānabe* 'ninety-six' < OIA *saṇṇavatiḥ*, (*chayānabe*=*chayā*– as in *chayā–aśī* etc + *nabe* <

navati-). But Old Oriya *chayāṇoi* is derived < *chayā* (above) + *ṇoi* < OIA *navati*-(> **ṇoti* > *ṇoi*), cp Amg *chaṇṇauiṁ*, JM *channauī*, Ap *chaṇṇavai* and Beng *chiyānabbai*. Hindi *chiyānave*.

97. *satānabe* 'ninety-seven' < OIA *saptanavatiḥ* (*satā*- for *sata*- after *satāaśī* etc.), cp Amg *sattāṇauiṁ* and Beng *satānabbai* Hindi *satānave*.

98. *aṭhānabe* 'ninety-eight' < OIA *aṣṭānavatiḥ*, cp Amg *aṭṭhāṇauiṁ* and Beng *aṭhānabbai*, Hindi *aṭhānave*.

99. *aneśata* 'ninety-nine' sts = OIA *ūnaśata*- > **ana-śata* (with negative prefix *ana*- vide p. 46 above) > *aneśata* by vowel dissimilation. Its OIA equivalents are *ūnaśataṁ/navanavatiḥ*, cp Beng *nirānabbai* and Hindi *ninānave* which are the tadbhava forms < OIA *navanavatiḥ*.

100. *śahe* 'hundred' < OIA *śatam* (> *saa* > *sa*). The final -*e* of *śahe* may be derived from OIA *eka*- as in *koṛie* and *ṣāṭhie* and the medial *h* is glidic, cp Insc *naa sa* '900', *ciāri sa cālisa na* (= 449), also cp A (S, M, K) *śata*-, Khar D *śata*-, *śatena*, *śatina* (Inst sg), N *śata*, P *sata*-, Pkt *sa(d)a*, Amg *saya* and also cp Beng *śa*, Ass *sa* [= xɔ :], Hindi *sau*, Marathi *sẽ ṁ*, Gujrati *sõ ṁ* etc.

1000. *hajāra/hajāre* 'thousand'. It is a borrowed numeral from Persian *hazār*, cp Av *hazaṅra* = OIA *sahasra*-. (*e* in *hajāre* has same origin as -*e* in *śahe*). Also cp Beng *hājār*, Ass *hazār*, Hindi *hajār*. OIA *sahasra*- is less frequent than *hajāra* in NIA.

cp Old Oriya *sasra* and Modern Oriya, *sahasra*, Hindi and Beng *sahasra*, cp A,N,P *sahasra*-, Khar, D *sahasa(ni)* (Acc Pl), 2nd MIA *sahassa* (Mg *śahaśśa*).

Numerals above 1000. The tatsamā words *ayuta* '10,000', *lakṣa* '100,000', *niyuta* '1000,000', *koṭi* '10,000,000' etc. are used in Oriya for higher numerals.

Inflection of numerals

In the Caryās sometimes the numerals take the case affixes of the nouns they qualify. e.g. *tinieṁ pāṭeṁ* (16); *eke śara-sandhāneṁ* (28), *daśami duāra-ta* (2) etc. (vide ODBL **535**). But such inflection of the numerals is not inherited in the subsequent stages of Oriya.

Apparent inflection is however observed in some numerals, which distinguish singular and plural forms by showing nil ending in plural and *-e* in singular e.g. *koṛie* 'twenty', *tini koṛi* 'three twenties'; *śahe* 'hundred', *tini śaha* 'three hundred'; *hajāre* 'thousand', *dui hajāra* 'two thousands'; *pāe* 'quarter' *duipā* 'two quarters' etc. But in fact here the *-e* of singular represents 'one' and is derived from OIA *eka* as explained above. Besides when *eka* is used as an adjective with such numerals, the forms without *-e* are used instead e.g. *eka koṛi*: *koṛie*, *eka hajāra* : *hajāre* etc.

3. THE ORDINALS

First *pahilā*, *pahili* <OIA **prátha-ila-*, cp Caryā *pahila* (12, 20), Beng *pahelā*, *payalā*, Hindi *pahalā*,

pahilā and also cp Ap *pahīla-*, *pahilī-* (fem). Another Oriya form is *paṛhuāṁ* <OIA *prathamaka*> *paṭhamaka*> *paṛhavaṁa*> *paṛhuāṁ*, cp Kharavela *padhama-*, N *prathama-*; Pkt *paḍhama-*, P *paṭhama*.

Other ordinals: *duhāṁ* '2nd' < *dvithama- with *-thama* as in OIA *pra-thama*; *dosarā* '2nd'; *tis(a)rā* '3rd'. These are also found in other NIA languages like Beng, Hindi etc., cp Beng *dos(a)rā*, *tes(a)rā*; Hindi *dūsrā*, *tīsrā*. These are derived by Chatterji from a cardinal + an affix *sar-ā* (ODBL 536). *tis(a)rā* may also be derived <OIA *tisratara, cp Skt feminine stem *tisra-*, and *dos(a)rā* may be analogical after *tis(a)rā*. *doharā* (also dialectal *doṛā*) '2nd' also 'double' <(*do* + *hara* < *thara*, cp *-thama* in OIA *prathama* and *-thara* in OP *frathara-* = OIA *prathara). *dutī* '2nd' is a shortened form of *dutīya* < *du* + *tīya* (tatsama suffix); cp MP *dutī indradyumna*. *duja* (*duje*) '2nd' < *duijja < *dvitiyya. Besides these, cardinals are also used as ordinals in Oriya which owe their origin to some lost ordinal forms through phonetic decay (e.g. *dui* < *duia* < *dvitīya*) and in several cases due to influence of similar use in OIA; e.g. Skt *ekādaśa*, *dvādaśa* etc. (used for both ordinals and cardinals).

4. THE FRACTIONAL NUMERALS

The following fractional numerals are used in Oriya:

$\frac{1}{4}$. Oriya *pā* 'quarter', *pāe* 'one quarter' as in *tinipā dhāna*, *pāe ghia* etc. *pā* <OIA *pāda*; *pāe* < *pā* + *e* < *eka*, cp Beng *po*, *poā*; Hindi *pāo*. Oriya shows another form *cauṭha* <OIA *caturtha-* e.g. *cauṭhe ruṭi*, *cauṭhe pāna* etc.

$\frac{1}{2}$. Oriya *adha* 'half', *adhe* 'one half' as in *adha-khaṇḍe*, *adhamāṭhie*, *adhe cāuḷa*, *adhe bāṭa* etc. *adha* < OIA *ardha-* (It is a non-Magadhan form due to the absence of cerebralization, as the expected form should have been *aḍḍha* since *-rdh-* > *-ḍḍh-*) and *adhe* < *adha* + *e.*, cp Beng *ādhā* 'half' *ādhā* 'half portion', Hindi *ādh*, *ādhā* etc.

$1\frac{1}{2}$. *deṛha*, 'one and half' < Mag MIA *diaḍḍha-* < OIA *dviardha-* = *dvyardha* (vide Beams: I p. 237) cp Amg *divaḍḍha-* and also cp Beng *deṛ*, Hindi *deṛh*, Panj *deṛh*.

$2\frac{1}{2}$. *aṛhāi* (*aṛhei*), 'two and half' < MIA *aḍḍha-tīya-* < OIA *ardha-tṛtīya-* (by haplology of *-tṛ-*) 'half less than three', cp A *aḍhatīya-*, P (late) *aḍḍhatīya-*, *addhateyya-*, BS *aḍḍhātiya-*, also cp Beng *āṛāi*, Hindi *aṛhāi*, Gujrati *aṛhi*.

Plus $\frac{1}{4}$. *sauā* < MIA *savāa-* < OIA *sapāda-*, cp Beng *saoā*, *savā*, Hindi *savā*, Gujrati *savā*.

Plus $\frac{1}{2}$. *sāṛhe* < OIA *sārdha-*, cp Beng *sāṛe*, Hindi *sāṛhe*.

A quarter less. Oriya *paune* < OIA *pādona-*, cp Beng *paune*, Hindi *paune*, Gujrati *poṇo* ($=\frac{3}{4}$), *poṇā be* ($=1\frac{3}{4}$). (*ā* indicates plural).

CHAPTER SIX

THE VERB

1. Oriya verbal system shows four tenses: present, past, future and conditional. It retains the (historical) radical conjugation of present indefinite and the imperative mood. The past base is formed by OIA past participle in *-ta* (MIA *-da* / *-a*)+MIA *-illa* (which is also used in the sense of *-vat* or *-mat*). OIA future passive participle in *-itavya* (MIA *-ibba*) forms the future base in Oriya. The base of the conditional tense is supplied by OIA present participial suffix *-ant* (=MIA *-anta*). Oriya uses periphrastic verbs just like its sister languages Bengali, Assamese etc. with the auxiliaries of the defective verbs < √*ach* and √*thā* and the distinction of number and person is well-maintained.

2. ROOT FORMATION

Oriya roots may be classified as primary and secondary according to their origin. The primary roots may be subdivided into tatsama, tadbhava, deśī and videśī as far as their source is concerened. Tatsama roots may be further classified into simple roots and prefixed roots. Similarly the secondary roots are subdivided into causative, denominative and onomatopoetic roots.

3. PRIMARY ROOTS

Tatsama roots. They are the OIA roots which are exactly used in Oriya without any modification. These are of two categories: simple and prefixed.

Simple roots: These are the unprefixed tatsama roots :— e.g. *car, garj, pāḷ, bhaj, raṭ, has, kuṭ, granth, caḷ, jap, bhram, miḷ, bhaṇ, phaḷ, kamp, manth, gaṇ, arp, bhāṣ, kaṣ* etc.

Prefixed roots: The prefixed roots of OIA are also used in Oriya: e.g. *āgam, prabeś, ācar, pracaḷ, biphaḷ* (< *viphal*), *samarp, prakāś, vikāś* etc.

Tadbhava roots. Tadbhava roots are the modified OIA derivatives with due phonological changes. These are quite frequent in Oriya. e.g. *kar, nāc, uṛ, mar, pi, kiṇ, pucch, pacār, bāndh, jāṇ, rakh, kānd, hāṇ, paṛ, maṇ, kah, phuṭ, gunth, ho, dhar, thā, um̐* (*uim̐bā*), *ugār, upāṛ, kāṭ, samp, bhed, śo, bol, śikh, bik, khas, khā, garaj, raṛ, jiṇ, ųujh, jag, ghas, tuṭ, de, dhām̐, bhāj, āṅk, uṭh, cobā, chiṇḍā, nibhā, dum̐h* (*duhim̐bā*), *śuṇ, bāṇṭ, miś, bujh* etc.

Deśi roots. These roots are of uncertain origin. e.g. *aṇṭ, aṭak, camak, khuṇṭ, khāṅk, guñj, hambāḷ, chāṅk, ṭhel, bhiṛ, hāpuṛ, cakaṭ, cāham̐, kāmuṛ, neuṭ/ leuṭ* etc.

Foreign (videśi) roots. There are some roots which are not derived from OIA. They are originated from some foreign sources. e.g. *kamibā, jamibā, badaḷibā* etc.

4. SECONDARY (or DERIVATIVE) ROOTS

Causative roots. The causative is formed with the affix *-ā-* < OIA *-aya-*. The following are some of the causative roots used in Oriya. e.g. Insc: *harā*, *karā*, *lihā*; Modern Oriya: *gaṛhā*, *śuā*, *paṛhā*, *diā*, *bulā*, *pacā*, *karā*, *śuṇā*, *lagā*, *marā*, *lekhā*, *uṛā*, *poṛā*, *hasā*, *rakhā*, *kuhā*, *basā*, *ḍarā*, *buhā*, *majā*, *sijhā*, *ladā*, *khuā*, *suhā*, *kandā*, *dauṛā*, *dekhā*, *pakā*, *dharā*, *uṭhā*, *nacā*, *ruhā*, *bolā*, *bhasā*, etc.

Denominative roots. The denominatives show the formative *-āi*, which is traceable to Skt denominatives in *āya* (cp *gopāyati*, *aśvāyati* etc). This *-āi* often becomes *-ei* by the usual phonetic change in Oriya and in a few cases it seems to have been shortened to *-i*. The following are some of the denominative roots, found in Oriya.

Denominatives from nominal base. e.g. *āṅkuṛibā*, *aṇṭeibā* (< *āṇṭa*), *āhuleibā*, *karaṭibā*, *koribā*, *kuhuḷibā* (< *kuheḷi*), *kākheibā*, *ohaḷibā*, *gadeibā*, *gajuribā*, *gajeibā*, *gāleibā*, *goṛāibā* (*goṛeibā*), *goḷāibā* (*goḷeibā*), *gochāibā* (*gocheibā*), *caṛakibā*, *cerāibā* (*cereibā*), *raṅgeibā*, *cūneibā*, *cheleibā*, *cālibā*, *jamāibā* (*jameibā*), *kāneibā*, *kāndheibā*, *kundibā* (< *kunda*), *nākeibā*, *katuribā*, *kuñcibā*, *khuṇibā* (< *khuṇa*), *khuṇṭibā*, *jhāḷeibā*, *ṭāṅgibā*, *ṭhakibā*, *ṭheṅgeibā*, *ṭhuḷeibā*, *ḍhokeibā*, *thaṇṭeibā*, *dānteibā*, *dhakeibā*, (< *dhaka*), *muṇḍāibā* (*muṇḍeibā*), *meṇḍhāibā*, *dhamakāibā*, *nāḷeibā*, *pāleibā*, *pūjeibā*, *pallabibā*, *pāṇeibā*, *pākheibā*, *panheibā*, *pahuṛibā*, *peṭeibā*, *pheṇibā* (< *pheṇa*), *bāṛeibā*, *bauḷibā*, *bāṭeibā*, *mukuḷibā*

(<*mukuḷa*), *muḷeibā*, *muhem̐ibā*, *laṭeibā* (<*laṭā*), *ṡoṣeibā*, *ṭaṅgeibā*, *goṭeibā*, *guṇḍeibā*, etc.

Denominatives from adjectives: *āgeibā*, *uñcāibā* (*uñceibā*), *uṣumāibā* (*uṣumeibā*), *kaam̐ḷāibā* (*kaam̐ḷeibā*), *kamāibā* (*kameibā*), *goṭāibā* (*goṭeibā*), *ḍhileibā*, *gelhāibā* (*gelheibā*), *choṭeibā*, *taraḷāibā*, *lateibā* (< *tapla*), *tulāibā*, *dhauḷāibā*, *pachāibā*, *pata-ḷeibā*, *baṛheibā* (<*baṛa*), *baṅkeibā*, *meleibā*, *sitaḷeibā*, *sāum̐ḷibā*, *saḷakhibā* etc.

Some foreign denominatives from Perso-Arabic source occur in Oriya e.g. *jamibā* (<*jamā* 'collect'), *dāgibā* (< *dāga* 'mark'), *naramibā* (< *narama* 'soft'), *phaskibā* (<*phaskā* 'to slip from hand'), *badaḷibā* (< *badaḷa* 'change') etc.

Onomatopoetic roots. Onomatopoetic roots generally come under denominatives and may be classified as simple and reduplicated. Most of the onomatopoetic roots fall under reduplicated type.

Simple onomatopoetic roots. The following are some of the simple onomatopoetic roots used in Oriya e.g. *phum̐kibā*, *hakibā* (cp *ḍākahāka*), *chiṭkibā*, *camkibā*, *jamkibā*, *damkibā*, *dhamakāibā* (both causative and denominatives), *naṛkibā*, *mac-kibā*, *muckeibā*, *uskibā* etc.

Reduplicated onomatopoetic roots. The onomatopoetic words like *kaṭ-kaṭ*, *kaṭ-maṭ*, *kaṛ-maṛ*, *kuṛ-muṛ*, *khaṭ-khaṭ*, *gar-gar*, *gam̐-gam̐*, *caṛ-caṛ*, *bhaṛ-bhaṛ*, *saṛ-saṛ*, *jhal-jhal*, *jhal-mal*, *jham-jham*, *ṭhak-ṭhak*, *tar-tar*, *tar-bar*, *phar-phar*, *phar-har*, *baj-baj*, *biḷ-biḷ*,

mac-mac, sant-sant, huṛ-huṛ, jaḷ-jaḷ, ṭaṇ-ṭaṇ, ṭaḷ-ṭaḷ, ṭaḷ-maḷ, duk-duk, gaḷ-gaḷ, guṇ-guṇ etc. form the reduplicated onomatopoetic roots with the addition of *hebā, karibā* etc.

5. CLASSIFICATION OF VERB

Oriya verbal system consists of finite and nonfinite verbs. Finite verbs include simple and compound verbs, each of which may be sub-classified as transitive and intransitive. Furthermore the finite verb has four moods (i.e. indicative, imperative, subjunctive and optative), three voices (active, middle and passive) and 4 tenses (present, past, future, and conditional) and two numbers (singular and plural), three persons (first, second and third). On the other hand the non-finite verb is of invariable flection, since it presents no distinction of number and person even and includes participles and infinitives.

6. THE FINITE VERB

The finite verb may be classified either as simple and compound verbs, or as transitive and intransitive verbs.

7. SIMPLE & COMPOUND VERBS

Verbs may be classified as simple and compound according to their formation.

The simple verbs may be subdivided under two heads nemely purely simple verbs and apparently simple verbs. Purely simple verb is expressed by one

word only e.g. *jāe, khāe, kaṛe, gāe, śue*; *śoili, khāili*; *paṛhili, bhābili*; *jibi, nebi, debi, lekhibi* etc.

There is another type of verbal expression which appears like one word although that is actually a combination of two words. Such types may be named as **apparently simple verbs**. e.g. *ẏāuchi* (= *ẏāu* + *achi*), *khāuchi* (= *khāu*+*achi*), *neuchi* (= *neu*+*achi*), *paṛuchi* (= *paṛu*+*achi*), *karuchi* (= *karu*+ *achi*) etc.

The compound verb is expressed by more than one word e.g. *patita helā, bhojana kale, śrabaṇa kale, ẏāuachi, khāuachi, ḍarauachi, śayana kale*; *ẏāi pāri thili, dauṛi pāru achi, kahi pakāilā, khāi delā, cāli galā, basi paṛilā, jaḷi uṭhilā, kari sāri achi, pii sāri achi* etc., cp Insc : *prabesa kale* (used many times), *thoi delo, posi āṇili, dei pārai, hoi jibāka* etc.

8. INTRANSITIVE & TRANSITIVE VERBS

On the semantic basis the finite verbs may be classified as intransitive and transitive. Intransitive verb has no object whereas the transitive verb contains one or two objects (though sometimes the object is unexpressed). e.g. intransitive: *Hari dauṛuachi, hasuachi, cālichi* etc.; transitive with one object: *se pilāku khuāuchi*; transitive with two obejcts: *se pilāku bhāta khuāuchi*. Intransitive verbs are generally expressed by the primary roots, although the secondary roots are also sometimes used. e.g, *has, paṛ, kānd, uṛ, nāc, mar, dhām̐, kās, ach, ji* etc. are primary roots used as intransitives. Some deno-

minative roots like *ḍhuḷāibā*, *śoṣeibā*, *mātibā*, *ghūmeibā*, *gajuribā* etc. also come under intransitives. The intransitive roots are made transitive by the addition of the causative affix -*ā*-. e.g. *hasibā* (intransitive): *hasāibā* (transitive), similarly *kāndibā* (intransitive *kandāibā* (transitive), *uṛibā* (intransitive): *uṛāibā*: (transitive), *mātibā* (intrasitive): *matāibā* (transitive) etc. Transitive roots may include both the primary and the secondary ones. e.g. *arjibā*, *arpibā*, *debā*, *dekhibā*, *cimuṭibā*, *ḍākibā*, *raṭibā*, *gapibā* etc.

9. TENSE

Oriya finite verb shows four tenses (viz. present, past, future and conditional), each of which may be subdivided into (1) simple or indefinite, (2) imperfect, (3) perfect, (4) imperfect-continuous, and (5) perfect -continuous. These tenses also display various personal terminations in singular and plural numbers.

10. THE PRESENT TENSE

Simple or Indefinite

Simple present is the redical tense and it inherits the OIA terminations of present indicative with due phonetic changes. It is note-worthy that the personal terminations of present indefinite are used with all the varieties of present formations. And in case of periphrastic formation it is added with the auxil ary verb. In periphrastic tenses the auxiliary $<\sqrt{}$*ach* is *achi* in first and third person sg which is the

shortened forms of earlier *achai*. The personal terminations of present indefinite are presented below with a conjugational table of √*khā*.

Singular

1st (early) *-ai*, (late) *-e*

e.g. (old) *khāai*, (Modern) *khāe* <OIA *khādāmi* >*khāaiṁ* >*khāai* >*khāe* (by shortening); cp Caryā: (49) *jāṇami*, (10) *puchami*; Insc: *deipārai* (= Modern Oriya *dei pāre*); SD: *lekhai*, *nuhai*, *māgai*. *karai*, besides *aṭe* etc.

2nd *-u*

e.g. *khāu* <OIA *khādathaḥ* (OIA dual> plural in MIA which was transferred to singular in Oriya) > *khāaho* >*khāho* >*khāhu* >*khāu*; cp Ap pl *pucchahu*, cp Insc, SD & Modern Oriya *karu*, *jāṇu* etc; cp Bengali singular/plural *khāo*. But Caryā 2nd person sg (10) *jāsi*, (15) *pucchasi* etc. (cp SD imperative 2nd singular *śuṇasi*, *badasi* etc.) <OIA 2nd person singular present indicative. (cp similar use of present for imperative 2nd singular in RV *parṣi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ*).

3rd (early) *-ai*, (late) *-e*

e.g. *khāai*, *khāe* <OIA *khādati*; cp Caryā: (1, 4, 16) *bhaṇai*, (42) *dekhai*, (2, 15, 20) *jāi*, (41) *acchai*; Insc: *karai*, *kahai*, *dharai*, *lāgai*, *marai*, *harai*; MP: *hoai*, *ghoṭai*, *pāre*; SD: *aṭai* besides *aṭe*, *pāre*; *śukhāi die*, *pakāi die*, *mājai*, *karai*, *achai* etc.; Modern Oriya *kahe*, *ẏāe*, *nie*, *hare*, *lāge* etc.

Plural

1st *-u* /*-um̐*

e.g. *khāu* <OIA *khādāmaḥ* >*khāāmo* >*khāāom̐* >*khāom̐* >*khāum̐* >*khāu*, cp Caryā: *dehum̐*, *lehum̐*, *biharahum̐*, *karahum̐* etc.; Insc: *achu*, causative *tulau*; MP: *achum̐*, Modern Oriya: *neu*, *deu*, *ẏāu* etc.

2nd *-a*

e.g. *khāa* <OIA *khādatha* >*khāaha* >*khāa*, cp Ap *jāṇaha*, *pucchaha*; Carya: *jānaha*, *bhulaha*, *bindhaha* etc; Insc: no instance; Modern Oriya: *ẏāa*, *kara*, *nia*, *dia* etc.

3rd *-anti*/*-nti*

e.g. *khā'nti* <OIA *khādanti*> *khāanti*> *khāānti* > *khā'nti*; cp Caryā: *bhaṇanti*, *kahanti*, *nācanti*, *gānti* etc.; Insc: *achanti*, *uṁtti* (= *hunti*), *jaṁti* (= *dyanti*); MP: *ẏānti*, *tejanti* (honorific singular), SD: *bolanti*, *badanti* (both honorific singular), *namanti* etc.; Modern Oriya: *dianti*, *kahanti*, *bharanti* etc.

Imperfect

The present imperfect is expressed by the auxiliarly verb < √*ach* preceded by a present participle ending in *-u*, like *khāu* (< OIA **khādaḥ* = OIA *khādan*, as explained with formative affixes; vide p. 31). The conjugational table is given below.

Singular

1st *khāu-achi* (*achi* <OIA **acchāmi* (<IE *es-skō*) > *achaim̐* > Old Oriya *achai* > Modern Oriya *achi*.), cp Bengali *āchi*; Insc *jaṇāu achi*, SD *ẏāuchi*.

2nd *khāu-achu* (*achu* < OIA **acchathaḥ* (OIA dual > pl in MIA and extended to sg in Oriya) > *achaho* > *achahu* > *achau* > *achu*, cp Bengali *ācho*) cp SD *karuchu*.

3rd *khāu-achi* < OIA **acchati* (*achi* < IE *es-ske-ti*) > *achai* > *achi* by special shortening (vide below **14.1**), cp Old Oriya *achai*, Bengali *āche*; cp MP *rāndhu achi*, *lagāuchi*, *jāḷuachi*.

Plural

1st *khāu-achu* (*achu* < OIA **acchāmaḥ* > *achāo* > *acho* > *achu*), cp Insc *tiāru-achu*.

2nd *khāu-acha* (*acha* < OIA **acchathaḥ* > *achaha* > *achaa* > *acha*).

3rd *khāu-achanti* (*achanti* < OIA **acchanti* cp Niya *hachamti*).

Perfect

The present perfect is formed by a past participle (e.g. *khāi* < OIA *khādita-* etc.) followed by the auxiliary verb < √*ach*. The conjugational table is as follows. (The history of *achi* etc. is already discussed above in Imperfect).

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	*khāi-(a)chi* cp MP *heiachi*	*khāi-(a)chu*
2nd	*khāi-(a)chu* cp MP *khāiachu*	*khāi-(a)cha*
3rd	*khāi-(a)chi* cp MP *āsi-achi*, *hei-achi*, SD: *kahi-achai*	*khāi-(a)chanti* cp MP *rahi-achanti*

Imperfect continuous

The imperfect continuous is formed by a past participial form (like *khāi*) followed by the present imperfect form of √ *ās*. The conjugation is shown below.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsu (a) chi*	*khāi āsu (a) chu*
2nd	*khāi āsu (a) chu*	*khāi āsu (a) cha*
3rd	*khāi āsu (a) chi*	*khāi āsu (a) chanti*

Perfect continuous

The perfect continuous is formed by a past participial form (like *khāi*) followed by the perfect conjugation of √ *ās-*.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsi(a)chi*	*khāi āsi(a)chu*
2nd	*khāi āsi(a)chu*	*khāi āsi(a)cha*
3rd	*khāi āsi(a)chi*	*khāi āsi(a)chanti*

11. THE PAST TENSE

The *-l-* element (*-illa-* /*-ila-* /*-ala-* etc.) plays an eminent role in the formation of the past tense. The past indefinite is formed by the addition of the temporal suffix *-il(l)a-* /*-ala-* with the respective personal ending; e.g. Insc *dillā*, *ghetalā*, *kalā* etc., MP *basāile*, *toḷāile*, Modern Oriya *dele*, *kale*, *nele* etc. In formation of the periphrastic verb of the past tense, *-ila-* etc. is added to the auxiliary verb with the respective personal terminations. e.g. *karu thili*, *kari thili*, *kari āsuthili*, *kari āsithili* etc.

The history of the *-l-* forms of the past may be traced back to MIA *-ll-*; the OIA adjectival suffix *-la-* as in *pṛthula*, *mañjula* etc. was added to the past participial forms *gata*, *kṛta* etc. in MIA stage which gives us the forms *galā*, *kalā* etc. This *-la-* of OIA > *-lla-* in MIA after a long vowel (when the corresponding long vowel is shortened) e.g. Oriya *tela* < MIA *tella* < MIA **tela* < OIA *taila*; similarly *gola* < MIA *golla* < OIA *gola* etc. This *-lla-* of MIA which was originally a mere phonetic veriant of *-la-* is analogically extended to other cases in Apabhraṃśa stage where it is not practically justifiable. At this stage also the participial forms attained the status of finite verbs and the *-la-* /*-lla-* was treated as the formative for past tense.

The variants *-ala-* and *-ila-* in Oriya (as well as in other NIA languages) owe their origin to OIA past participial forms with *ta+(l)la* and *ita+(l)la* respectively e.g. Oriya *galā* < OIA *gata-la-ka* > MIA *gaallaa* > *galā* and Oriya *khāilā* > OIA *khādita-la-ka* > MIA *khāiallaa* > *khāilā*. This *-ilā* was subsequently extended to other forms where it is not historically justifiable e.g. *karilā* (beside historical *kalā*) < OIA **karita-la-ka* (beside regular OIA *kṛtalaka-* which has become Oriya *kalā*) and *marilā* < OIA **marita-la-ka* (beside OIA *mṛta-la-ka* which has become *malā* in Oriya) etc.

It may be noted that the Oriya inscriptions retain the double *-ll-* forms in a few instances (e.g. *dillā*, *dhillā*) beside the mere common single *-l-* forms (e.g. *dili*, *dhili*).

The personal terminations of the past tense show *–ā* and *–e* in third person singular and plural respectively, which are identical with Oriya nominative singular (e.g. SD: *vīrā*) and plural (e.g. *vīre*) endings of the nominal declension, and have the same history. Other endings are extended from the present conjugation. The endings of the past tense are specially shown with the past indefinite only as they are same throughout all the past formations.

The conjugational teble of various types of past farmations is shown below.

Indefinite or Simple

Singular

1st *khāili* = *khā–il–i* (*–i* is the personal termination of the present extended to the past; cp *–i* in *ach–i*): cp Insc: *posi āṇili, dili, dhīli, chāṛili*; cp also MP :*kali*.

2nd *khāilu* = *khā–il–u* (*–u* is extended from the persent; cp *–u* in *ach–u*).

3rd *khāilā* = *khā–ilā* (*–ilā* < **il*(*l*)*aka*); cp Insc *boilā, hoilā, karilā, dillā, dhillā, ghetalā, kalā, thilā, dilā, thilo* (may be read as *thilai, –lo is* found only once in the eleventh century); cp also MP: *daṁsilā, kalā* etc.

Plural

1st *khāilu* < *khā–il–u* (*–u* < present, cp *–u* in *ach–u*); cp Insc: *delu/deluṁ, chāṛilu/chāriluṁ*, cp also MP: *kalu* etc.

3nd *khāila* < *khā-il-a* (*-a* < present, cp *-a* in *ack-a*), cp MP *hela*

3rd *khāile* < *khā-il-e* (*-e* < nominative plural ending *-e* < OIA *-ebhiḥ*), cp Insc: *chāṛ le*, *kale* (shortened form of *karile*), *dile*, *thoidele*, *bāṇṭidhile*, etc; MP: *soile*, *pacārile*, *bhogakale* (all used as honorific singular), *thile*, *boile* etc.

Imperfect

The past imperfect is formed by a present participle in *-u* followed by an auxiliary verb < √*thā* with respective personal terminations (same as past indefinite).

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāu thili*	*khāu thilu*
2nd	*khāu thilu*	*khāu thila*
3rd	*khāu thilā*	*khāu thile*
	(cp MP *houthilā*)	

Perfect

The past perfect is formed by a past participle in *-i* (like *khāi*) followed by an auxiliarly verb < √*thā*. The personal terminations are same as in past indefinite.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi thili*	*khāi thilu*
2nd	*khāi thilu*	*khāi thila*
3rd	*khāi thilā*	*khāi thile*
	(cp Insc *hoi thilā*)	

Imperfect continuous

The past imperfect continuous is formed by a past participle in *-i* followed by a past imperfect form of √*ās*. The endings are same as in past indefinite.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsu thili*	*khāi āsu thilu*
2nd	*khāi āsu thilu*	*khāi āsu thila*
3rd	*khāi āsu thilā*	*khāi āsu thile*

Perfect continuous

Past perfect continuous is formed by a past participle in *-i* followed by a past perfect form of √*ās*. The endings are same as the past indefinite.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsi thili*	*khāi āsi thilu*
2nd	*khāi āsi thilu*	*khāi āsi thila*
3rd	*khāi āsi thilā*	*khāi āsi thile*

12. THE FUTURE TENSE

The temporal affix *-ib-* plays an important role in the formation of the future. The history of *-ib-* (< OIA *-itavya*) has been discussed above. The personal terminations of the future tense show *-a* and *-e* in third person singular and plural respectively which are identical with Oriya nominative singular (e.g. *bāḷaka*) and plural (e.g. *bāḷake*) endings of the nominal declension. The third plural has the same history as nominative plural of nominal declension.

But the singular may be same as nominative singular of Oriya nominal declension or may be also same as OIA neuter singular, as is natural with the *–tavya* affix, which was normally found with the passive constructions. Other endings of the future are extended from the present conjugation. The first person plural, however shows an additional ending *–ā* (beside *–u*. which is extended from present), which is historical (as more frequent in the older phase of Oriya), and may be derived from *–itavyaka–*. The endings of the future tense are specially shown with the future indefinite only, as they are same throughout all the future formations.

INDEFINITE

The future indefinite is formed by the addition of the temporal suffix *–ib–* and the respective personal terminations to the root. The conjugational table is given below:–

Singular

1st *khā–ib–i* (cp present *ach–i*), cp Insc: *bihibi* (text *bihībi*), *debi* besides anomalous *nemi* (text *nemī*), apparently same as OIA first person singular ending (cp Oriya dialectal *nemī*), cp SD *ẏibi*, *karibi* etc.

2rd *khā–ib–u* (cp present *ach–u*;) No instance from Insc, cp MP *dekhibu*, SD *sahibu*, *bolibu* etc.

3rd *khā–ib–a* (< OIA *khāditavyam*), cp Insc: *sebā kariba*, *bāiba*, *deba*, *haba*, *koribo*, besides the anomal-

ous *nema*, which is probably a contamination of third person singular *neba* + first person singular *nemi*; cp MP *hoiba*, *mariba*, SD *tuṭiba* etc.

Plural

1st *khā-ib-u* (cp present *ach-u*), *khā-ibā* (< OIA *khāditavyaka-*), cp Insc: *likhana karibā*, *debā*, *nemā* (anomalous like singular *nemi*), SD *yibā*, *kaṛhāibā* etc., MP *ẏibu*, *karibu*, *bujhibā* etc.

2nd *khā-ib-a* (cp present *ach-a*); cp MP *kariba*, *mariba*; MP (b) *basiba*, *deba* etc.

3rd *khā-ib-e* (< OIA *khāditavyebhiḥ*); cp Insc: *na rahibeṁ*, *gāibe*, *pāḷanā* (or *sebā*) *karibe*, *hoibe*, *debe*, *thibe* etc. ; SD *ẏibe*, *karibe* etc.

IMPERFECT

The future imperfect is formed by a present participle in *-u* followed by auxiliary an/verb <√*thā* conjugated in future indefinite.

Singular

1st *khāu thibi* (No instance from Insc)
2nd *khāu thibu* (No instance from Insc)
3rd *khāu thiba* cp Insc: *deu-thiba*, *hou-thiba*.

Plural

1st *khāu thibu*, *khāu thibā*, cp Insc: *deu thibā*.
2nd *khāu thiba*, cp Insc *bhoga karu thiba*.
3rd *khāu thibe*, cp Insc: *deu thibe*.

Perfect

The future perfect is formed by a past participial form followed by an auxiliary < √*thā* conjugated in future indefinite.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi thibi*	*khāi thibu* *khāi thibā*
2nd	*khāi thibu*	*khāi thiba*
3rd	*khāi thiba*	*khāi thibe*

Imperfect Continuous

The future imperfect continuous consists of a past participial form followed by an auxiliary < √*ās* conjugated in future imperfect.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsu thibi*	*khāi āsu thibu* *khāi āsu thibā*
2nd	*khāi āsu thibu*	*khāi āsu thiba*
3rd	*khāi āsu thiba*	*khāi āsu thibe*

Perfect Continuous

The future perfect continuous contains a past participial form followed by an auxiliary < √*ās* conjugated in future perfect

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsi thibi*	*khāi āsi thibu* *khāi āsi thibā*
2nd	*khāi āsi thibu*	*khāi āsi thiba*
3rd	*khāi āsi thiba*	*khāi āsi thibe*

13. THE CONDITIONAL TENSE

The present participial affix *–ant* is the distinctive affix for the conditional tense. The personal endings of the conditional tense present *–ā* and *–e* in third person singular and plural respectively which are identical in history with Oriya nominative singular and plural of noun declension, and rest of the endings are extensions from the present tense. Thus the endings of the past and conditional are identical in form and origin. The conditional endings are specially illustrated with the conditional indefinite only, as they are the same with other conditional formations.

Indefinite

In conditional indefinite the participial suffix *–ant* is added to the root and after that the corresponding personal termination are added.

Singular

1st *khā'nti* (= *khā-ant-i*, cp present *ach-i*)
2nd *khā'ntu* (= *khā-ant-u*, cp present *ach-u*)
3rd *khā'ntā* (< OIA *khādantaka–*)

Plural

1st *khā'ntu* (= *khā-ant-u*, cp present *ach-u*)
2nd *khā'nta* (= *khā-ant-a*, cp present *ach-a*)
3rd *khā'nte* (OIA **khādantebhiḥ*).

Imperfect

The conditional imperfect is formed by a present participle in *–u*, followed by an auxiliary √*thā*, conjugated in the conditional indefinite.

	Singular	Plural
1st.	*khāu thānti*	*khāu thāntu*
2nd	*khāu thāntu*	*khāu thānta*
3rd	*khāu thāntā*	*khāu thānte*

Perfect

The conditional perfect contains a past participial form in *–i* followed by an auxiliary < √ *thā* conjugated in conditional indefinite.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi thānti*	*khāi thāntu*
2nd	*khāi thāntu*	*khāi thānta*
3rd	*khāi thāntā*	*khāi thānte*

Imperfect Continuous

The conditional imperfect continuous is constituted of a past participle in *–i* followed by a conditional imperfect form of √ *ās*.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsu thānti*	*khāi āsu thāntu*
2nd	*khāi āsu thāntu*	*khāi āsu thānta*
3rd	*khāi āsu thāntā*	*khāi āsu thānte*

Perfect Continuous

Perfect continuous is formed by a past participle in *–i* followed by an auxiliary < √ *ās* conjugated in the conditional perfect.

	Singular	Plural
1st	*khāi āsi thānti*	*khāi āsi thāntu*
2nd	*khāi āsi thāntu*	*khāi āsi thānta*
3rd	*khāi āsi thāntā*	*khāi āsi thānte*

14. SOME IRREGULAR CONJUGATIONS IN ORIYA

The following verbs show irregular conjugations in Oriya.

1. √*ach*: This is a defective verb in Oriya, conjugated only in the present tense and this is supplemented by the conjugational forms of √ *thā* in past and future. This is a substantive verb used as auxiliary in periphrastic formations in present tense. The most striking peculiarity of this verb is that in first and third person singular it shows the ending –*i* (cp *achi*) instead of –*e* (cp *khāe* etc.). The earlier form was *achai* (like *khāai*). Probably *achai* became *achi* instead of *ache* because the verb is used as auxiliary with periphrastic formations and thus the final syllable of this verb became the final syllable of a polysyllabic word which was responsible for its special shortening. The shortening of *achai* to *achi* occured in the early Oriya stage before *khāai* > *khāe*. Therefore a form like **ache* could never come up in any stage of Oriya. The √*ach* as derived by Châtterji form IE **es–ske–* seems quite plausible; cp Aśokan (S) *achanti*, N *hachati*, P *acchati*; Pkt, Apabh *achai*, Caryā (41) *acchai*, Bengali *āche* etc.

2. √ *kar*: The √ *kar* shows peculiarities in the formation of the past tense where two alternative forms are available side by side in conjugation. e.g. singular 1st *karili*: *kali*, 2nd *karilu* : *kalu*, 3rd *karilā*: *kalā*; plural 1st *karilu*: *kalu*, 2nd *karila*:, *kala*, 3rd *karile*: *kale*. The forms *karilā* etc. may be derived from **karital(l)aka*– etc. and the forms *kalā* etc. may be derived from **kr̥tal(l)aka*– etc. Similar is also √*mar* which shows *marili*: *mali* etc.

3. √ *ẏā*: This is a defective verb found in present and future, as well as conditional and is supplemented in past by the forms of √ *gam* as in other NIA languages; cp present: *ẏāuchi*, Beng *ẏāiteche*, Hindi *jātā hai*; future: *ẏiba*, Beng *ẏābe*, Hindi *jāegā*; conditional: *ẏāntā*, Beng *ẏeta*, Hindi *jātā*; past: *galā*, Beng *gela*, Hindi *gayā* etc. Oriya *galā* etc. are derived from **gata l(l)aka*– etc.

4. √ *ho*: This shows *ho* and *hu* in various conjugational forms which are shown below. *hu* is found in present indefinite 1st and 3rd singular (*hue*); 2nd plural (*hua*) and 3rd plural (*huanti*) and in all forms of conditional indefinite (*huantā* etc). The form *ho* on the other hand is found in 2nd singular (*hou*) and 1st plural (*hou*) of present indifinite and all the rest of the forms of present, past, future and conditional (e.g. *houachi*, *hoiachi*, *hoili*, *hoibi*, *hoithānti* etc.). The form *ho* is alternatively replaced by *he* in Modern Oriya in all cases e.g. *heuchi*, *heli*, *hebi*, *heithānti* etc. In Modern Colloquial Oriya sometimes *he* is also alternatively replaced by

ha e.g. *haba* besides *heba* (= Old *hoiba*), so also *hau* besides *heu* and *hou* etc. (√*ho* < OIA √*bhu*+√*as*; vide ODBL 767 p. 1038).

5. √ *ne*: This shows *ne* and *ni* in various conjugational forms which are comparable to the variation of *ho* and *hu* in similar cases. e.g. 1st and 3rd singular *nie*, 2nd singular *neu* etc. It also shows the alternative *–na–* forms just like the *–ha–* forms of √*ho* e.g. *nauchi* besides *neuchi*. Similar also is √*de* varying with *di* and *de* (with alternative *da* in some of the conjugational forms).

6. **The negative verb :** It is a defective verb with a conjugation only in the present indefinite e.g. singular 1st and 3rd *nāhiṁ*, 2nd *nāhuṁ*; plural 1st *nāhuṁ*, 2nd *nāhaṁ* and 3rd *nāhāṁnti*. This may be derived from OIA √*as* (conjugated in *–a–* class) prefixed with the negative particle *na* and the endings are modelled after √*ach*. e.g. 3rd singular *nāhiṁ* < OIA **na+as–a–ti=na+asti*, 1st singular *nāhiṁ* < OIA **na +as–ā–mi=na+asmi* etc.

15. MOODS

Oriya conjugational system displays four varieties of moods namely Indicative, Imperative, Subjunctive and Optative. Indicative which expresses normal verb forms needs no special consideration.

THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

The imperative occurs in second and third persons only and is attested in two tenses namely

present and future. But the future imperative is same in form with the future indefinite. The conjugational table of the present imperative is shown below. This illustrates the historical imperative endings. The second person singular ending *-si* frequently found in SD is undoubtedly a case of hyper-Sanskritism based on Sanskrit indicative form which however had an imperative force even in Early OIA, cp RV *parṣi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ*).

THE PRESENT IMPERATIVE

Singular

2nd *-a* e.g. *khā* (< OIA *khāda*), cp Caryā : *kara, bujha, cāla* etc., Insc : *bicāra,* MP : *khāā,* SD : *yā, bhāḷa* ; *śuṇasi, kahasi, badasi* (hyper-Sanskritism), Modern Oriya *kar*^{a}, *cāl*^{a}, *bujh*^{a}, *kah*^{a} etc. (In modern Oriya the final *-a* is not pronounced to keep the 2nd sg distinct from 2nd pl).

3rd *-u* e.g. *khāu* (< OIA *khādatu*), cp Insc : (*na*) *pāu,* MP : *khāu, yāu,* SD : *heu, yāu,* Modern Oriya : *karu, neu, yāu* etc.

Plural

2nd *-a* e.g. *khāa* (< OIA *khādata*), Caryā *jāṇa* (1,44), *suna* (2), *cāla* (3), Insc : *kara,* MP : *raha* (honorific singular), *kaha, bola,* Modern Oriya : *kaha, saha, nia, dia, bula, rakha* etc.

3rd *-antu* e.g. *khā'ntu* (< OIA *khādantu*), SD : *heuntu, bolantu,* Modern Oriya *huantu, rahantu, karantu, diantu* etc.

The imperative second person plural suffix *-a* may be derived from OIA imperative plural *-ata*. But Chatterji derives it from OIA indicative second person plural *-atha* (> *-adha* > *-aha* > *-a*) (vide ODBL **648**). His derivation is probably based on the fact that, the *-ata* form is attested only in the first stage of MIA and not in the other stages (e.g. Aśokan *dekhata*) and *-atha* for imperative second person plural was quite frequent in MIA, e.g. Sauraseni & Māgadhī *vaṭṭadha*, Culikā Paiśācī *vaṭṭatha*, Jaina - Mahārāṣṭrī *vaṭṭaha* (vide Pischel **467**, p 335).

THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

The subjunctive is expressed by the addition of the conjuction *ẏadi* and *ẏebe* (frequent in Old literature) to the verbs of the indicative in all tenses, (and the OIA subjunctive which is attested only in Vedic and nowhere in later phases of OIA is obviously lost in Oriya) ; e.g. Modern Oriya *mum̐ ẏadi / ẏebe khāe*, *mum̐ ẏadi / ẏebe khāili*, *mum̐ ẏadi / ẏebe khāibi*, *tu ẏadi / ẏebe khāuchu*, *se ẏadi/ẏebe khāichi*, *tume ẏadi / ẏede khāithila*, *semāne ẏadi / ẏebe khāithānte* etc., cp Caryā (5) : *jai tumhe loahe hoiba pāragāmī* etc. (This use of *ẏadi / jai* is paralleled in Apabhraṃśa and Avahaṭṭha. (vide Prākṛta-Paiṅgala p. 211), MP : *ethaku tumbhemāne ẏebe... hariba*; SD: *rājā bole tuhi ẏebe sākṣāte īśāna*, *ebe ẏebe tohara mum̐ hebi manohārī*, *patira ārdoḷi ẏebe bhārẏyā na sahiba*, *svāmī ẏebe likhana tu kaḷu śāstra ẏoge* etc.

THE OPTATIVE MOOD

The original OIA optative is lost in Oriya. The optative sense is expressed in Oriya in the following manner. Sometimes it is expressed by an indicative form, with the pronominal adverb *ẏemiti* 'so that' used as a conjunction; e.g. *mum̐ ẏemiti dekhe* (*tu e kāma karu*), *se ẏemiti ehā kare* (*tu dekhibu*) etc. Moreover the optative is expressed by the words *ucita*, *kartabya* etc. added after the verbal noun in *-ibā* (< OIA *itavyaka-*) generally employed with the genitive of a noun or pronoun; besides *ucita* is also used with the nominative; e.g. *tora e kāma karibā ucita* besides *tu e kāma karibā ucita* but *tora e kāma karibā kartabya*. So also *mum̐* or *mora ehā karibā ucita* or *kartavya* etc. The tatsama words with the suffix *-anīya* employed with the genitive of the substantives also express the optative sense in literary Oriya; e.g. *mora ehā karaṇīya*, *tora ehā barjanīya* etc.

16. THE PASSIVE VOICE

OIA has two voices namely active and passive. MIA has retained the original voices. Various NIA dialects also inherit the radical passive of OIA. As far as Oriya is concerned it shows some sporadic instances of radical passive, besides the periphrastic and the *-ā* passive.

The radical passive

In OIA the passive affix is *-ya-*. This *-ya-* is found as *-ya-*, *-iya-*, *-iyya-*, *-īya-* in First MIA and it occurs

as-*ijja*–, –*ia*– in Second MIA or is assimilated with the preceding consonant. Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa presents two passive forms with the –*ia*– and –*ijja*– affixes. –*ia*– is the genuine passive affix in Māgadhī and –*ijja*– affix is borrowed from the Western Apabhraṃśa (vide ODBL **653**, **654**, **655**, pp 901-912). Caryā also presents some sporadic fossils of –*ia*– passive; e.g. Caryā (1) *kariai* < **karyate* = OIA *kriyate*, *mariai* < **maryate*=OIA *mriyate* etc. In subsequent stages Oriya also presents some stray instances of radical passive e.g. Insc: *jāṇi* in "*parikṣā āna gīta nāṭa karāile jāṇi, se Jagannāthaṅka droha karai*" (The sense is 'be it known' =Skt *jñāyatām*). Bhāgabata: *prākṛta boli kahi, lakṣaṇe bhakta jāṇi, kampi tāhāra nija dehi, dehamāna diśai* etc. MP *je phaḷa upujāi se phaḷa khāi ki na khāi*.

Some impersonal constructions (= impersonal passive or *karma-kartṛ-vācya*) also show this radical passive. e.g. *bājā śubhe, rāti pāhe, bheri bāje, māṭhiā pure, ghaṛi cāle, lugā chiṛe, bahi kaṭe, kāca bhāṅge* etc.

The periphrastic passive or compound passive

The radical passive is obsolete in Oriya and some sporadic retentions are found here and there. The living method is to express the passive voice in a phrase. It is called the periphrastic passive or the compound passive (Hoernle p 322). The compound passive is formed by a passive participle followed by the conjugated forms of √ *yā* 'to go' e.g. *dekhā yāe*,

śikhā ịāe; marā ịāe, karā ịāe, diā ịāe, niā ịāe, kuhā ịāe, śuā ịāe etc.

The-*ā*-Passive

Oriya shows several passive forms where the verb base ends in *–ā* and is conjugated like a simple verb root with *–ā* as the final vowel like *ịā* and *khā* etc. e.g. the passive verb stem *bolā–* will have the following forms; sg 1st *bolāe*, 2nd *bolāu*, 3rd *bolāe*; pl 1st *bolāuṁ*, 2nd *bolāa*, 3rd *bolānti*. In old literature (Old & Middle Oriya) the form *bolāi* occurs instead of medern *bolāe*. This difference is because of the fact that in case of the old and middle Oriya forms, the ending *–ai* is directly added to the stem *bolā–* and the result is *bolāi*. But in case of the modern Oriya forms the ending *–ai* has already become *–e* and this *–e* is affixed to *bolā* and the form becomes *bolāe*. To take some illustrations: Modern Oriya *se paṇḍita bolāe*, cp MP *baraṣe bolāi*, Bh *bolāi pāṭarāṇī*, cp Beng *mānāy, sunāe, bolāe* (e.g. Śkk *mahādānī bolāe*).

There are two different theories on the origin of this *–ā–* passive, by two eminent linguists viz. Hoernle and Grierson. According to Hoernle this *–ā–* passive owes its origin to the old Indo Aryan causatives. (vide Hoernle: Gaudian Grammar 484). But Grierson derives it from denominative *–āya–* of OIA. Grierson's suggestion is fertilised by the evidences supplied by the Bihari dialects. Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuria clearly show that the original affix for this passive was the denominative *–āya–*

distinct from the causative affix *-āpaya-* which is retained as *-āwa-* even now in the mentioned dialects, cp Maithili causative base *dekhāb* (*dekhāw* < **dekkh-ava-*) 'to show' and the passive base *dekhā* 'to be seen', cp also the 3rd person causative form *dekhābe* (*dekhāwe*) and passive form *dekhāe* (Grierson, 'Introduction to the Maithili dialect' pp 214 & 219).

17. THE NONFINITE VERB

The nonfinite verb includes participles (including verbal nouns) and infinitives.

18. PARTICIPLES

The participial formations in Oriya may be classified under three heads namely the present, past and future participles.

The present participles

The following varieties of present participles are found in Oriya.

(1) participle in-(*a*)*nta*, *-antā*, *-anti* < OIA active present participle *-ant-* e.g. Caryā 18: *jīvante maalem̐ nāhi biseso* 'There is no difference between the living and the dead' Insc *honta*, *toḷantā*, *karantā* etc., also Insc. *khaṭanti* (*buṛhā-leṅkā*), Modern Oriya *ghumantā*, *jaḷantā*, *paṛantā*, *caḷantā*, *phuṭantā*. *caḷanti* etc. This participle is used attributively and generally it preceds the noun. It is rarely used predicatively e.g. Modern Oriya *caḷantā sagaṛa*, *phuṭantā pāṇi*, *uṛantā caṛhei*, *jaḷantā niām̐* etc; but *mācha jiantā*

achi, niā̃ṭā jaḷantā diśuchi etc., cp Beng *phuḷanta, sājanta, nibanta*; Assamese *karõtā, calõtā, diõtā* etc.

(2) Participle in *-u/-ũ, -uṇa* (for history vide formative affix). It always follows the substantive and is never used attributively. This participle is used thrice in Insc e.g. Insc: *bhaṇḍāriā thāu* 'the treasurer being present' etc. It constitutes the first member of the imperfect tenses (e.g. third person singular: *khāu achi, khāu thilā, khāu thiba, khāu thāntā* etc.). Thus it may be termed as imperfect participle. This participle is sometimes repeated in the forms like *khāu khāu āsilā, ẏāu ẏāu dekhilā* etc. It also occurs in nasalised form, e.g. MP: *āmbhe thāũ puriā rājā hoilā* (p 47), Modern Oriya: *khāũ khāũ gali, ẏāũ ẏāũ kahili* etc.

The extended form *-uṇa* is also found in Oriya. e.g. Insc: *samasta lokaṁkara tāuṇa* (= *thāuṇa*) 'All the men being present'. This *-uṇa* occurs as *-uṇu* in Modern Oriya in some colloquial form, due to vowel assimilation. e.g. Modern Oriya *ẏāuṇu āsuṇu*. The *-ṇa* of *-uṇa* may be a pleonastic suffix just like the *-na* of OIA **tvā-na* and **tvī-na*. This *-ṇa* is also found with the past participial forms like *ẏāiṇa, khāiṇa* etc. in a similar pleonastic sense.

The Past (Passive) Participles

The various types of past participles are discussed below:

(1) The participle with *-ā* < OIA *-ta-ka-* (for history vide formative affix) e.g. Insc: *bikā* (*hoiba*); Modern Oriya: *bikā, kiṇā, diā, niā, karā, khiā* etc.

This participle is used both attributively and substantively e.g. attributive use : *jaṇā kathā, cinhā loka, dekhā jāgā, śuṇā gapa* etc. substantive use: e.g. *gapa śuṇā heini, mācha kiṇā galāni* etc. In Insc it is also found with verbal noun. e.g. *bikā* (which may mean 'sale' and 'sale-proceed' both).

(2) The participle with *-i* <OIA *-ita* e.g. Modern Oriya : *khāi, kari, dhari, mari, nei, dei* etc; Insc : *thāi* (used 4 times) as in *bāra-pāṭeka thāi nīrne kalā, Mahāpātre thāi bāṇṭi dhīle, Raghudeo...jaṇāiṁ ...āigā(ṁ) hoile* etc. This participle forms the first member of the perfect tenses (e.g. first person singular: *khāi achi, khāi thili, khāi thibi, khāi thānti* etc.). It may be termed as the perfect participle. The extended form *-iṇa* (with pleonastic *-ṇa*) also occurs in Oriya; e.g. Old and Modern Oriya : *khāiṇa, yāiṇa, neiṇa, prakāśiṇa, thāiṇa śikhāiṇa* etc. besides *khāi, yāi* etc ; cp Insc : *āgyāṁ boliṇa hoile.*

(3) The participle with *-lā/-ilā* (history same as past tense third singular form, vide past tense). This participle is generally used attributively e.g. Modern Oriya: *kalā kāma, galā kathā, śoilā pilā, kahilā kathā* etc; cp Insc : *dayā* (text : *daya*) *karilā paṭṭasthitti, acā(ra)banta hoilā tapasā* (or *tapasī*), *kalā sukritamāna, pāṇi chāḍilā bhumī-dāna* etc. It is also used substantively in Insc. e.g. *droha kalā hoi* (lit. becomes one who has committed faithlessness). The parallel is also found in other NIA langnages like Bengali, Bihari, Maithili and Gujarati etc; cp Oriya *kalā*, Early Bengali *kaila*, Bihari *kail*[a], Marathi *kela*,

Gujarati *karelo* etc. and Oriya *galā*, Bengali (Old and Middle) *gelā*, Bihari *gail*[a] etc. and Oriya *calilā*, Gujarati *calelo* etc.

The Future Participle

The following varieties of future participles are found in Oriya.

(1) The participle ending in *-ibā* < *-itavya* (dialectally *-imā*/ *-mā*) : e.g, Modern Oriya : *karibā kāma*, *khāibā bhāta*, *piibā pāṇi*, *rahibā ghara*, (dialectally) *āṇimā jiniṣa* etc; Insc: *deuḷa debā bhāta* 'the rice to be given by the temple'; *bhoga āṇ(i)mā suāra*' 'The cook who is to bring the bhoga'. It is used attributively as well as substantively. The attributive use is shown in the above examples. The substantive use is found in the following expressions. e.g. Insc: *je(be) nebā (h)umṭi* 'if (they) would take (these) away', cp Modern Oriya : *semāne* / *āpaṇamāne ẏebe nebā huanti* etc. in honorific expression. The original passive use is found in the constructions '*tāṅkara ẏibā helāni*, *mora rahibā ṭhik*[a] *heichi* etc.

(2) The periphrastic future participle (see below)

THE PERIPHRASTIC PARTICIPLE

Some periphrastic or compound participles are also used in the language. They are restricted to the past and the future tenses only and may be classified as perfect and imperfect.

The Past Periphrastic Participles

Imperfect. The periphrastic imperfect participle of the past is formed by the combination of an imper-

fect participle in *-u* followed by a past participle in *-l-* of √*thā*. It is generally used attributively e.g. *karuthilā kāma, yāuthilā loka, hasuthilā pilā, paṛhuthilā jhia etc.*

Perfect. The periphrastic perfect participle of the past is formed by the combination of a perfect participle in *-i* followed by the past participle in *-l-* of √ *thā*. Just like the imperfect periphrastic participle it is also used attributively. e.g. *kahithilā kathā, neithilā ṭaṅkā, śoithilā pilā, deithilā kalama* etc.

The Future Periphrastic Participles

Imperfect. The imperfect participle in *-u* combined with the future participle of √*thā* constitutes the imperfect future participle. It is used both attributively and substantively.

Attributive: *y̌āuthibā loka, bahuthibā pabana, gāuthibā gīta, khāuthibā bhāta* etc.

Substantive: *se gāuthibā dekhi muṁ gāili, bāpā y̌āuthibā dekhi pilāṭi dauṛilā, pabana bahuthibāru kaṣṭa kam̐ helā* etc.

Perfect. It is formed by the combination of a perfect participial form in *-i* with the future participle in *-ib-* < √*thā* and it is used attributively as well as substantively.

Attributive: *neithibā jāgā, dhoithibā lugā, śukheithibā cāuḷa* etc.

Substantive: *se deithibāru ta tu pāilu, nānī y̌āithibāru muṁ galini* etc.

19. THE VERBAL NOUNS

The various types of verbal nouns are illustrated below.

(1) Verbal noun in *-antā* < OIA present participle in *-ant+aka* e.g. agentive SD : *bahantā* 'bearer' (*se dhanu bahantā nāhim̐ tini bhubanara*).

(2) Verbal nouns in *-ā* < Oriya past participle in *-ā* e.g. Insc : *bhiā* 'earning', *bikā* 'selling', *bāhuṛā* 'returning'; Modern Oriya : *khiā* 'eating', *piā* 'drinking', *lekhā* 'writing', *diā* 'giving', etc., cp Bengali 'dancing', *kenā* 'buying', *becā* 'selling', Assamese *jowā* 'going', *sowā* 'sleeping', *karā* 'doing' etc.

(3) Verbal noun in *-l-* < past participle in *-l-*, e.g. Caryā (23) : *bhelā bihani* 'without having been' (=*helā bine*), Insc : *gaḷā-nimite* 'for going', *delāra* 'of giving', *pātaka-kaḷāra phaḷa* 'the result of committing sins', *sarilāṭhāru* 'from the closing', *harilāre* 'in appropriating'; MP : *harilāra* 'of the appropriater', *cinhilāku* 'because of cognisance'; similarly Modern Oriya : *gaḷāru, khāilāru, kahilāku*; cp Beng ŚKK (p 249) *bini jācilem̐* 'without asking', Early Assamese : *śaṅkare dekhāila cāhila* 'wanted to show sankara', Bihari *māralᵃ* 'killing', *mārlāme* 'in killing'.

(4) Verbal nouns in *-i-* < past participle in *-i*; e.g. Caryā (41) : *bolī*, Insc : *kāṭi* 'cutting', *boli* 'statement', *bheṭi* 'presentation', Modern Oriya *boli*, *bheṭi* etc.

(5) Verbal nouns in *-bā, -ibā* (/*-mā, -imā*) < future participle; e.g. Caryā (8): *bāhaba-ke pāraa* 'is able to row' (=*bāhiba-kem̐ pāṛai*), Insc : *debāra*

'of giving', *nemāre* 'in taking', similarly Modern Oriya: *paṛhibāru, dekhibāru, lekhibāru, ẏibāre, nebāre, debāre, khāibāku, kahibāku, śikhibāku* etc., cp Beng (ŚKK p. 3) *māribāka* (as in *mānuṣa niẏojila māribāka tāe* 'employed a man to kill him'); Assamese *kariba, kariba-r, kariba-lai, kariba-t* etc. Maithili *karab, karabāk, kara-bem̐* etc., Eastern Hindi *calab, karab*, Western Hindi (Brajbhākhā) *calibaum̐, karibaum̐, calibe, karibe* etc., Rajsthani, (Marwari) *mārabo, caḷabo*, Gujarati *mārvum̐, cālvum̐*. Marathi *uṭhāvayā-, māravayā-* etc. Sometimes the periphrastic participial forms are also used as verbal nouns; e.g. *deithibāhetu, khāithilāru, ẏāuthibāru, kahithilāru* etc.

It should be noted that the verbal nouns in *–i–* are more frequently used in inscriptions than the verbal nouns in *-bā/ ibā* etc.

20. INFINITIVE

The infinitive is formed in Oriya by adding the Dat –Acc suffix *–ku* to the verbal noun in *–bā/ –ibā*; e.g. Insc: *karibāku, kahibāku, jaḷibāku, nācibāku* etc., Modern Oriya: *karibāku, debāku, nebāku* etc. The rare variant *–kai* beside *–ku* is also found in Insc: e.g. *chāḍibhā-kai* ('to release'). According to Tripathi Insc. *karāilāku* (with *–ilāku* instead of *–ibāku*) is also a form of infinitive.

–ite is also used as an infinitive ending in dialectal Oriya (i.e. in Balasore) as well as rarely in Old Oriya literature. e.g. SD: *cālite*, Bhāgabata: *śuṇite, jāṇite*, (Dialectal) Modern Oriya *dekhite, khāite* etc. The form *suṇita* 'to hear' is also used in

Rāmabibhā of Arjuna Dāsa. cp Assamese *khujita* 'to seek' (Kakati p. 346). The infinitive froms *khāite*, *karite* etc. may be derived form the verbal noun in *-i* e.g. *khāi*+the locative ending *-te* as in SD *tohara purate* 'in your house' etc. (so also Chatterji: ODBL **747** pp. 1014-1015). The rare *-ta* infinitive found in *suṇita* may similarly be derived from the verbal noun *suṇi* + *ta* an Old locative suffix (cp Caryā *hāḍita*, *bāṭata*, *duārata* etc.).

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aśokan
Abl (abl)	Ablative
Abh	Abhimanyu Sāmanta Siṃhāra: Bidagdha Cintāmaṇi
Acc (acc)	Accusative
AD	anno domini
Adj (adj)	Adjective
Adv (adv)	Adverb
Amg	Ardha Māgadhī
Ap (Apa/Apabh)	Apabhraṃśa
Ass (Assa)	Assamese
Ava	Avahaṭṭha
BC	Before Christ
BD	Baḷarāma Dāsa: Dāṇḍī Rāmāyaṇa
Beames	John Beames: A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India
Beng	Bengali
Bh	Bhāgabata (Jagannātha Dāsa)
Bhoj	Bhojpuriā
BS	Buddhistic (Hybrid) Sanskrit
C	Caryā
CGMIA	Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan
Chatterji	Suniti Kumar Chatterji: ODBL
cp	Compare
D	Dhauli (Aśokan)
dat (Dat)	Dative
E Beng	East Bengali

E Hindi	Eastern Hindi
e.g.	exampli gratia (for example)
fem (fm)	Feminine
G	Girnar (Aśokan)
gen (Gen)	Genitive
Gk	Greek
Guj	Gujrati
hon (Hon)	Honorific
i.e.	id est (that is)
IE	Indo–European
IIr	Indo–Iranian
Insc	Inscription (=Oriya inscription)
J	Jaugaḍa (Aśokan)
JM	Jaina–Mahārāṣṭrī
K	Kalsi (Aśokan)
KhD (KharD)	Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada
loc (Loc)	Locative
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
M	Mansehra (Aśokan)
Mah	Mahārāṣṭrī
masc (mc)	Masculine
MB (M Beng)	Middle Bengali
Mg (Mag)	Māgadhī
MIA	Middle Indo–Aryan
MP	Madaḷā Pāñji
MW	Monier Williams: Sanskrit English Dictionary
N	Niya Prakrit
neut (nt)	Neuter
NB (N Beng)	New Bengali (=Modern Bengali)
NIA	New Indo-Aryan

nom (Nom)	Nominative
NP	Nṛsiṃha purāṇa
ODBL	Origin & Development of the Bengali Language
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
P	Pali
Panj	Pañjābi
Pkt	Prakrit
pl	Plural
RV	Rig Veda
S	Sahabazgarhi (Aśokān)
SD	Sāraḷā Dāsa
Sen	Sukumār Sen
Sg	Singular
Skt	Sanskrit
T	Topra
Tdbh (tadbh)	Tadbhava
Tripathi	Kuñja Bihārī Tripāṭhi: Evolution of Oriya Language & script
tts (Tats)	Tatsama
Vd	Vedic
viz	namely
voc (Voc)	Vocative
W Hindi	Western Hindi
*	Hypothetical (not attested)
>	becomes, or becoming
<	from or is derived from
=	same as

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baṛajena, Brajanātha : catura binoda
: keḷi kaḷānidhi
: samara taraṅga
: śyāma rāsotsaba

Baṛu, Caṇḍīdāsa : Srī kṛṣṇa kīrtan
Baḷa, Nanda Kiśora : granthābaḷi
Baḷadeba, Kabisūrya : kiśora candrānana campu
Beams, J. : A Comparative Grammar of New Indo-Aryan languages
Bhañja, Upendra : baidehīśa biḷāsa
: lābaṇya batī
: koṭi brahmāṇḍa sundarī

Bhoi, Bhīma : brahma nirūpaṇa gītā
: stuti cintāmaṇi

Burrow, T. : The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkisthan
: The Sanskrit Language

Chatterji, Suniti Kumar : Languages & Literature of India
: Origin & Development of the Bengali Language

Dāsa, Acyūtānanda : māḷikā
Dāsa, Arjuna : rāma bibhā
Dāsa, Bacchā : kaḷasā cautiśā
Dāsa, Baḷarāma : amarakoṣa gītā
: baṭa abakāśa
: dāṇḍī rāmāyaṇa

Dāsa, Bhaktacaraṇa : mathurā maṅgaḷa
: mana bodha cautiśā

Dāsa, Caitanya : biṣṇu garbha purāṇa
Dāsa, Danāi : gopī bhāṣā
Dāsa, Dīnakṛṣṇa : jagamohana chānda
: rasa kallola

Dāsa, Kārttika : rukmiṇī bibhā
Dāsa, Kuñja Bihāri : loka gaḷpa sañcayana
Dāsa, Jagannātha : śrimadbhāgabata
: tuḷā bhiṇā
Dāsa, Mahādeba : mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa
Dāsa, Mārkaṇḍa : keśaba koili
Dāsa, Pitāmbara : nṛsiṃha purāṇa
Dāsa, Yaśobanta : prema bhakti gītā
Ḍāsa, Śiśu Śaṅkara : uṣābhiḷāṣa
Dāsa, Sāraḷā : mahābhārata
Dāsa, Sūryanārāyaṇa : Oṛiā sāhityara itihāsa
Edgerton, F. : Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit (Dictionary, Grammar & Reader)
Grierson : Linguistic Survey of India
Hoernole : Gaudian Grammar
Jha, Subhadra : Formation of the Maithili Language
Kakati, Banikanta : Assamese, its Formation and Development
Katre, S. M. : Formation of Koṅkaṇi
Kabiśekhara :Gopāla Bijaya
Kellog : Grammar of the Hindi Language
Macdonell, A. A. : Vedic Grammar
Mahānti, Ārta Ballabha (ed) : mādaḷāpāñji
Mahāpātra, Yadumaṇi : prabandha pūrṇa candra
: ḍadumaṇi rahasya
Majumdar, B. C. : Typical Selections from Oriya Literature
Mānsingh, Māyādhar : History of Oriya Literature
Master, Alfred : A Grammar of Old Marāṭhi
Mahendale, A. M. : Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits
Miśra, Bināyaka : oṛiā bhāṣāra itihāsa
Miśra, Godābarīśa : granthābaḷi
Misra, Satya Swarup : A Comparative grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite
: pṛthibīra bhāṣā
: A temporal classification of Oriya verbs.
: New lights on Indo-European Comparative Grammar.

Mukhopādhyāya, Tārāpada : Old Bengali Language & Texts
Nanda, Gopīnātha : oṛiā bhāṣā tattva
Paṇḍita, Bhūpati : prema pañcāmṛta
Pāṇigrāhi, Kāḷindī Caraṇa : māṭira maṇiṣa
Pischel : Grammatik der prakrit Sprachen (Eng. trans by Jha, S.)
Praharāja, Gopāḷacandra : bāi mahānti pāñji
: pūrṇa candra bhāṣā koṣa
Rāya, Pratāpa : śaśi seṇā
Rāya, Rādhānātha : granthābaḷi
Saksena, Baburam : Evolution of Awadhi
Sāmanta, Siṃhāra, Abhimanyu : bidagdha cintāmaṇi
Sāmantarāya, Naṭabar : oṛiā sāhityara itihāsa
Sen, Sukumar : bhāṣāra itibṛtta
: caryāgīti padāvali
: A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan
: An Etymological dictionary of Bengali
: Index verborum of Caryā songs
Senāpati, Phakiramohana : māmuṁ
: lachamā
: cha māṇa āṭha guṇṭha
: ātma jībana carita
Tagare, G. V. : Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa
Taraporewala, I. J. S. : Elements of the Science of Language
Tripathi, Kunja Bihari . Evolution of Oriya Language & Script
Turner, R. L. : A Comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language
: A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages
Whitney, W. D. : Sanskrit Grammar
: The Roots, verb-forms

INDEX

The alphabetic order of Oriya has been systematised as follows:—

a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, (ḷ), e, ai, o, au, k (including kṣ), kh, g, gh, ṅ, c, ch, j, jh, ñ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, (including ṛ), ḍh (including ṛh), ṇ, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, ẏ, (including y), r, l (including ḷ), v (in Insc & Caryā forms), ś, ṣ, s, h, ḥ (visarga), ṃ (anusvāra), m̐ (candra vindu or nasalisation).



"Its standing as an original contribution to knowledge in the field of Comparative Philology is unquestioned. Its underlying plan is good and its exposition in the main is meticulous and clear."

Prof. J. V Boulton,

School of Oriental and African Studies,

London.

"The author has been a brilliant student in the University of Calcutta in Comparative Philology and she has shown her scholarly insight in a systematic presentation of the morphological structure of the Oriya language with a historical back-ground, a desideratum so far.........She has executed it with great care and she has presented quite a comprehensive picture of the speech. ....In several cases she has offered convincing new etymologies......I hope this book will be of great use to scholars of Indo-Aryan linguisticts in India and abroad."

Prof. P. Sinha Ray

Head, Dept. of Comparative Philology,

University of Calcutta.

Other Important Publications:

1. **Introduction to the Science of Religion.**
   A.·d ·int of Prof. Max Muller's four distinguished lȧ. .red delivered at the Royal Institute of Lohaon. Rs. 45·00

2. **The Riddle of the Temple of Somanātha.**
   By Prof. M. A. Dhaky & H. P. Shastri. With a Foreword by Dr. B. K. Thapar. Rs. 60·00

3. **The Conception of Ahiṁsā in Indian Thought According to Sanskrit Sources.**
   By Dr. (Miss) K. Walli. Rs. 35·00

4. **The Problem of Being in Heidegger.**
   By Dr. C. M. Pathak. Rs. 30·00

5. **Sanskrit Drama & Dramaturgy.**
   By Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya. With a Foreword by Prof. Suryakanta. Rs. 50·00

6. **Sāṅkhya Darśanam :** Being the aphorisms ascribed to Maharsi Kapila, with the Vrittisāra of Mahadeva Vedantin & Hitherto unpublished Vritti (Commentary) of Sri Nagesh Bhatta. Critically edited by Sri Janardana Shastri Pandeya.
   (Sanskrit) Rs. 15·00



BHARATA MANISHA
PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS
D. 28/171 Pande Haveli
VARANASI (India)